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THE CENTENNIAL OF THE CINCINNATI

On a bright May morning of the year 1883, the government steamboat "Chester A. Arthur" lay at her dock in Whitehall, with note of preparation portending an excursion of especial significance. In the intervals of her impatient fuming might be seen various of her expected guests taking their way on board, over her hospitable gang-plank. Here came distinguished representatives of the officers of the United States army, stationed on Governor's Island and in New York city. Following these was a brilliant assemblage of the officers of the navy; while both here and there might be seen, grouped with the gay trappings of the martial service, the sombre garb of civic life. The haunts of business had contributed of their denizens to honor the event. Statesmen and jurists, lawyers and merchants, had suspended their accustomed labors to impress with their presence a greater than ordinary interest upon the occasion; while everywhere in the animated throng might be distinguished the glint of the jeweled order of an ancient society. It was the order of the Society of the Cincinnati. Soldier and civil-



ORDER PRESENTED BY FRENCH OFFICERS.



VERPLANCK HOUSE.

At Fishkill-on-the-Hudson.

ian had assembled, at the invitation of the society in the state of New York, to commemorate its centennial anniversary by an excursion to the place of its birth. Its natal hour was of the 13th day of May, 1783. But that day of the current year happening on Sunday, Monday, the 14th, was made its *locum tenens*. On the morning of that day, the boat, with her company, parted from the wharf, and in the glow of martial music, made her course for the Verplanck House, on the east shore of the Hudson, about a mile above Fishkill, where the Society of the Cincinnati was founded. Arriving at West Point, many officers of the academy were in waiting to participate in the events of the day. Re-embarked, hardly had the health of Washington been drunk standing and in silence, at the succeeding collation, when a salute of thirteen guns, from the Washington headquarters at Newburgh, seemingly echoed the sentiment and applauded the pious act. Passing Newburgh, with all her flags responsive, the boat anchored in the stream, off the Verplanck homestead, and the company landing, thronged to the house. Here a quaint and unique scene awaited them. A portly figure, standing upon the ancient Dutch stoop of a house as venerable as the year 1730—the date of its recorded erection—expects, with a radiant welcome, the advancing visitors. It is William S. Verplanck, one of the proprietors of the place, and a descendant of the proprietor of 1783. Ushering them through low-browed rooms, corresponding with each other by an ample hall, he introduces them to that which witnessed the inception of the Cincinnati. A quiet



MAJOR-GENERAL BARON DE STEUBEN.

From a Portrait Executed in London and Published May 15th, 1783.

and a cosy old-fashioned room it is. The wood fire that radiates a gentle warmth from its capacious hearth, reflects its generous flame from oaken floors to paneled sides. Its furniture, of primitive mold but enduring fiber, recalls the simple and immortal days when patriots and heroes used it. Its windows look out upon the ancestral fields and trees they looked upon before the revolution. In the sacred presence of the genius of the place, insensibly the scene of '83 is reproduced. Again we behold the headquarters of the honorable Major General, the Baron de Steuben. Under his presiding auspices as senior officer, the representative officers of the several regiments of the respective state lines, and the general officers of the American army are assembled. They determine to establish a society



Knox

to perpetuate their friendships and to commemorate their struggles in the cause of freedom. Major-General Henry Knox has prepared and they accept "the Institution," which he reads. They resolve, upon the pledge that shall bind, "by their sacred honor," the members to each other in unalterable devotion "to the rights and liberties of human nature"; to "the union of the states and national honor"; to "brotherly kindness"; and to mutual charity. The Society of the Cincinnati is founded, and now a century again asserts itself, and a hundred years remove us from the event.

The chairman of the committee of 1883, Alexander Hamilton, amid the general silence, repeats impressively, from "the Institution," the principles upon which it declares the society shall immutably rest. Brief words appropriately enforce the hallowed associations of the place, and the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the Cincinnati is finished.



MAJOR NICHOLAS FISH.
President of the New York Society of the Cincinnati,
1797-1804.

Those whose impressions of the effect of the Cincinnati society upon the character of our institutions, and the popular thought, are derived from present observation, will not fail of astonishment that its advent, a hundred years ago, was contemplated by many wise and patriotic men as a portent of evil. Its feature of hereditary membership, through the right of primogeniture, communicated a wide-spread alarm; and the display of its order by the side of orders of foreign creation, on the breasts of French officers in

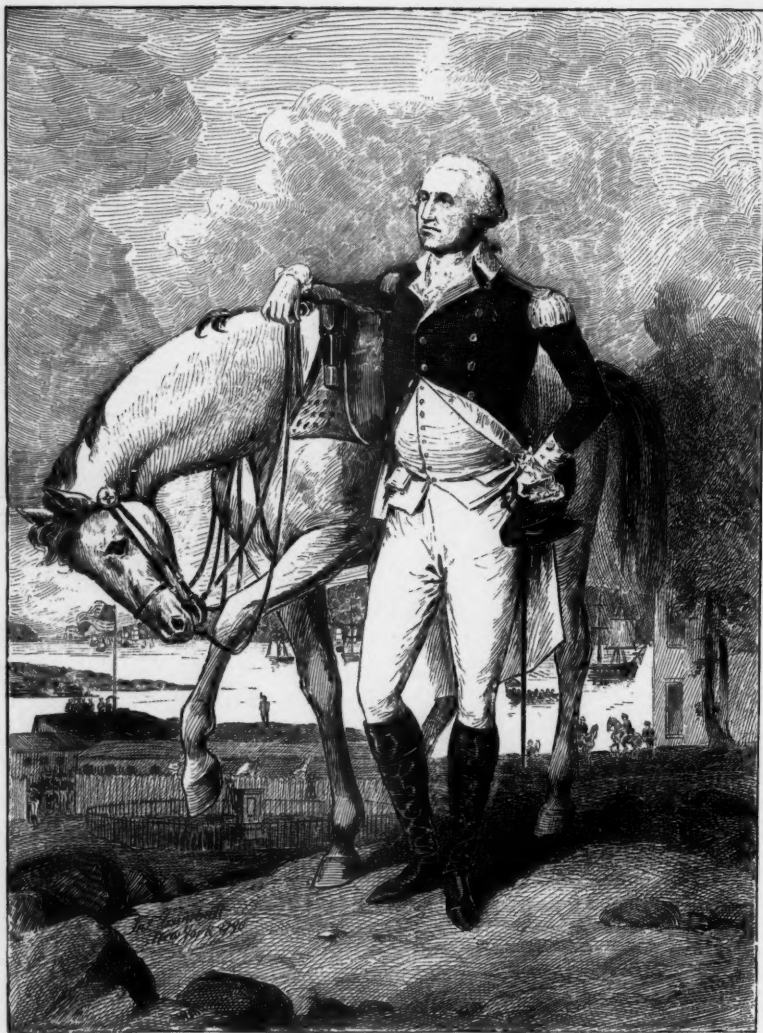
European courts, inspired the fear of a hereditary nobility. It provoked the trenchant satire of Franklin, but whose judgment in this respect time has ranked with his recommendation of the turkey to symbolize the national honor. Samuel Adams denounced it as "a stride towards a military nobility as rapid as ever was made in so short a time;" and John Adams deemed its hereditary principles hostile to free institutions. It was well known that no American citizen who had ever borne arms



GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON.

against his country, or had not manifested his attachment openly to the independence of the United States, could be admitted either by inheritance or otherwise. Subsequently Benjamin Franklin and John Adams were both elected honorary members of the Cincinnati Society, and, as shown in their respective letters, esteemed it a high honor. Experience has demonstrated the fallacy of their fears, as the triumph of American independence, under Washington's arms, demonstrated the virulence of their attacks upon him in the continental congress. Writers in various sections systematically and bitterly assailed the society, and to such an extent was jeal-





"EVACUATION OF NEW YORK."

COPY OF TRUMBULL'S FAMOUS PAINTING IN THE CITY HALL.

[Engraved for the Magazine of American History for November 1883.]

ousy of its influence infused into the public mind, that even Hamilton criticised unfavorably the feature of primogeniture, and Washington himself counseled its suppression. Ædanus Burke wrote a famous pamphlet, subsequently translated by Mirabeau, in which he attacked with great force the aristocratic features of the Cincinnati. Not more than a decade,



WASHINGTON.

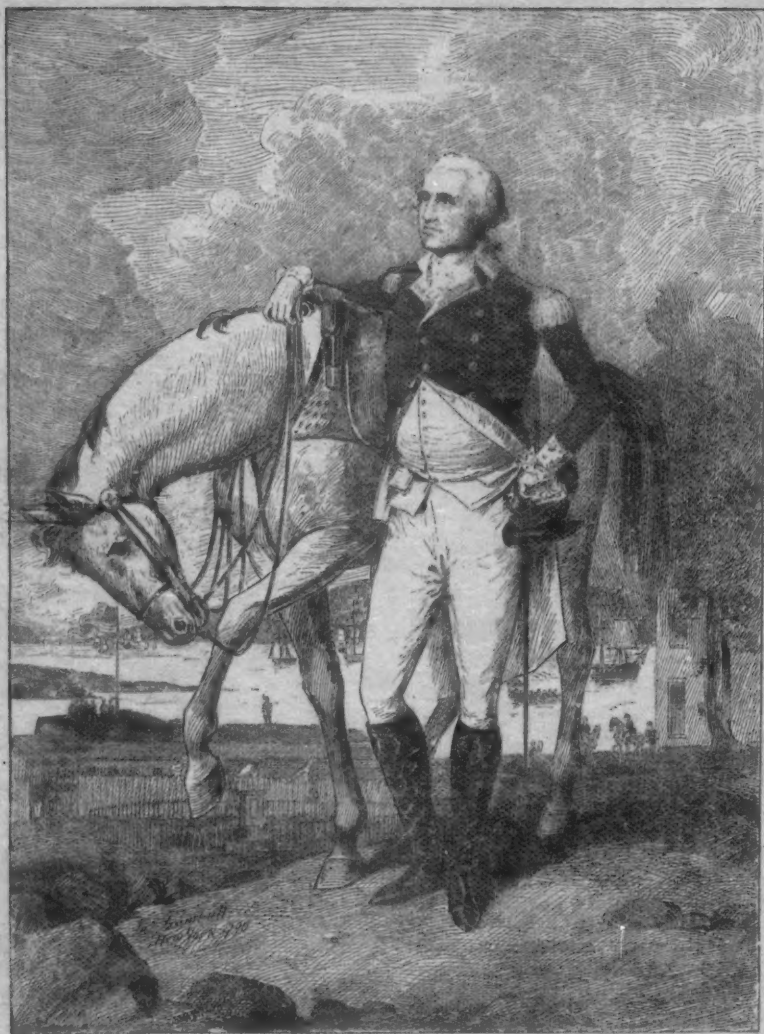
First President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1783-1800.

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[One clause of the Institution reads as follows: "The General Society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into State Societies, and these again into such districts as shall be directed by the State Society."

The first officers of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, elected July 5th, 1783, were, Major-General Alexander McDougall, President, Governor George Clinton, Vice-President, Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Walker, Secretary, General Philip Van Cortlandt, Treasurer, Colonel Nicholas Fish, Assistant Treasurer.—EDITOR.]



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The apprehensions of a people, recently emerged from a deadly conflict for their liberties, were, naturally enough, sensitive even to a harmless formula of words. Nevertheless, to a considerate and unbiased judgment, the danger must have appeared remote. The principles of the society are most exalted and noble; its objects most unexceptionable and laudable. Its endurance was made to depend, not upon the unconditional succession in perpetuity of the eldest male posterity, but of those of them only, who,



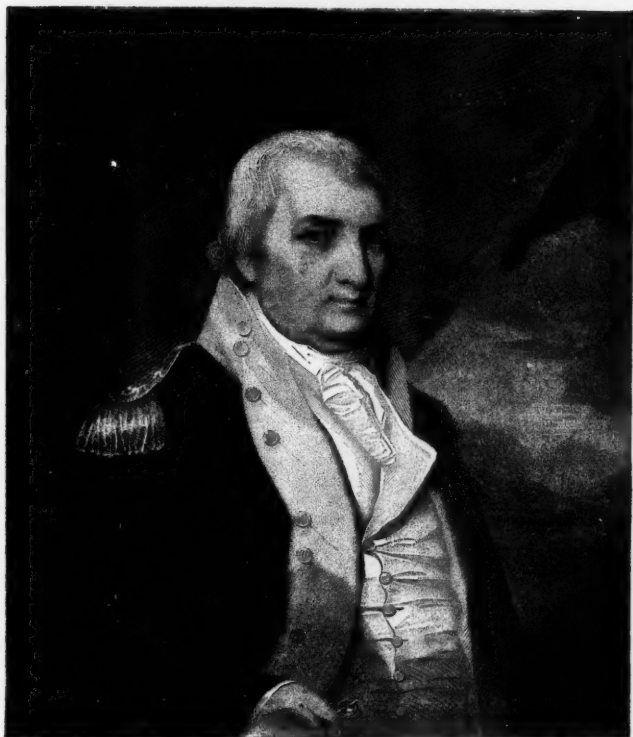
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Second President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1800-1805.

being exemplars of the immutable principles on which the society was based, should be judged worthy of becoming their supporters.* Of the lineage of the founders, the meritorious alone were eligible to membership, the only principle, said Hamilton, consistent with "the genius of a society founded on friendship and patriotism." Such is the plain meaning of "the Institution," both in its letter and context, and such the construction which the character of the founders enforces.

[* It may be interesting in this connection to note that the fifteenth by-law of the New York branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, as adopted on the ninth of February, 1784, is presented



CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Third President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati

1805-1825.

Nor should the obvious distinction between societies of the order of propaganda, and those simply commemorative, have been overlooked. The first are active efficient in the disposition of affairs, and dangerous to the internal peace of a state in their possible hostility to its interests. To prolong the memory of the virtue developed in the past, and to anchor the safety of a people in their memorable traditions, is the office of the last. "If the man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force

as follows: "A doubt having arisen respecting the description of persons who are within the meaning of the term OFFICERS, as expressed in the original Institution of the Society—to remedy all difficulties until the sense of the General Society can be obtained, it is hereby determined. that no other persons than such as have held commissions immediately from Congress, investing



THOMAS PINCKNEY.

Fourth President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1825-1829.

on the plan of Marathon," how, we may conjecture, would that patriotism glow at the revelation in a surviving Greek order of a lineal descendant of Miltiades. And so, should civil war again erect its baleful crest, a later time may record how the Society of the Cincinnati, founded by the officers of the army of the American revolution, fostered by Washington, and over which he presided, stimulated the patriotism of a generation with the organic voice of his memory.

them with military rank: Surgeons and Mates of Regiments, Chaplains, the Judge Advocate-General, the Paymaster-General, the Quartermaster-General, and the Surgeons and Mates of Hospitals, shall be admitted Members of right within the above or foregoing meaning." The committee who prepared the twenty-two by-laws were, General Philip Van Cortlandt, Lieutenant-



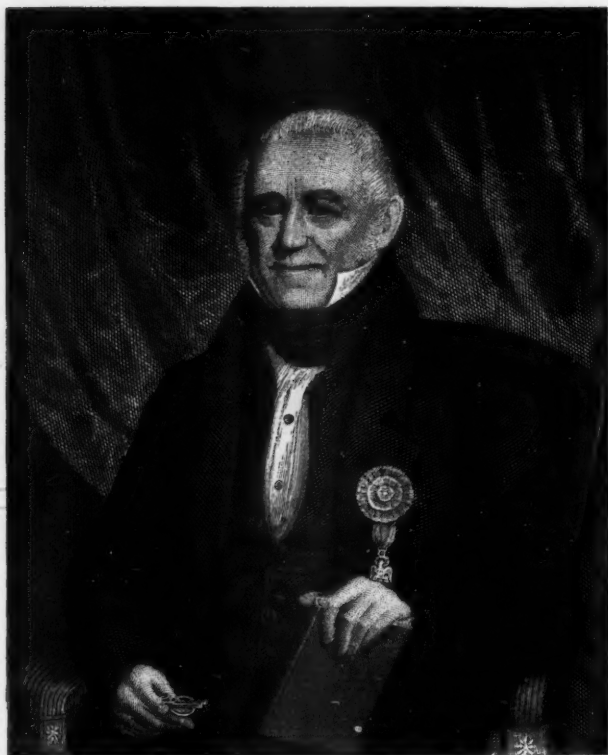
AARON OGDEN.

Fifth President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1829-1839.

It cannot be doubted that such were the feelings which prompted the action of the founders of the Cincinnati. The army lay in cantonment at Newburgh. In eight years of fierce and bloody war it had established the sovereignty of the States. Many of the soldiers were suffering, and all were destitute. An unorganized government was chargeable with the arrears of their pay, and its insolvency proclaimed its inability to sat-

Colonel Antill, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, Colonel Nicholas Fish, Major Richard Piatt, Major James Fairlie, Captain Edward Dunscomb, and Dr. John Cochrane. At the same meeting nine members were elected by ballot to form a standing committee with the officers of the society, viz : General John Lamb, Major Benjamin Ledyard, Rev. John Gano, Colonel Frederick Weisenfells, Captain Edward Dunscomb, Judge John Lawrence, Captain



MORGAN LEWIS.

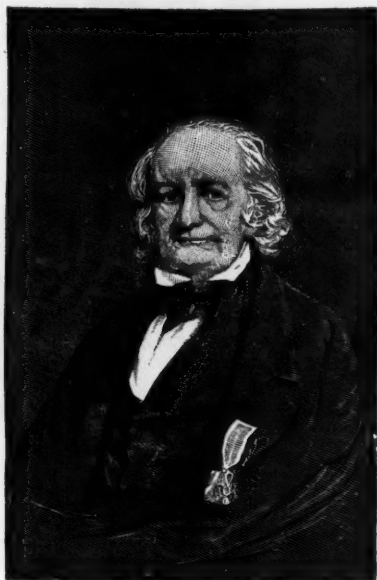
Sixth President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1839-1844.

isfy them. Tongues began to be busy with seditious mutterings, and incendiary pens to teem with the suggestions of unbridled ambition. Want was plied with temptation, and unscrupulous craft intensified the crisis. At such a moment was projected a society designed to counteract the influence of treasonable cabals, and to knit more closely to the fortunes

George Fleming, Major James Fairlie, and Major Richard Platt. A caustic writer signing himself "An Obscure Individual" attacked the critics in 1783, saying:—"The very illiberal reflections and aggravated consequences deduced from the institution of the Order of the Cincinnati, will, I trust, be added as one more to the innumerable proofs which history and experience already offers of this melancholy truth—that every *appearance* of superiority (however necessary to the policy and

of the republic the men who had achieved them.* It was to be composed exclusively of the officers of the American army, solemnly combined in the interest of the liberty they had established, and the union of the States



WILLIAM POPHAM.

Seventh President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1844-1848.

they had preserved. An effect of more immediate consequence was proposed. A writer of more than ordinary vigor had insidiously inculcated with the sense of its grievances the sinister suggestion to the army of its power to redress them. A terrible vista disclosed to the patriot the

government of a state) naturally excites sullen suspicion, and the best characters and the noblest institutions are often marked out as the first objects of popular resentment."}

* [The sentiment embodied in the following eloquent paragraphs from the Institution blazes forth with renewed splendor at each successive reading: "An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective States that union and national honour, so essentially necessary to their happiness, and the future dignity of the American Empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers; this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."—EDITOR.]

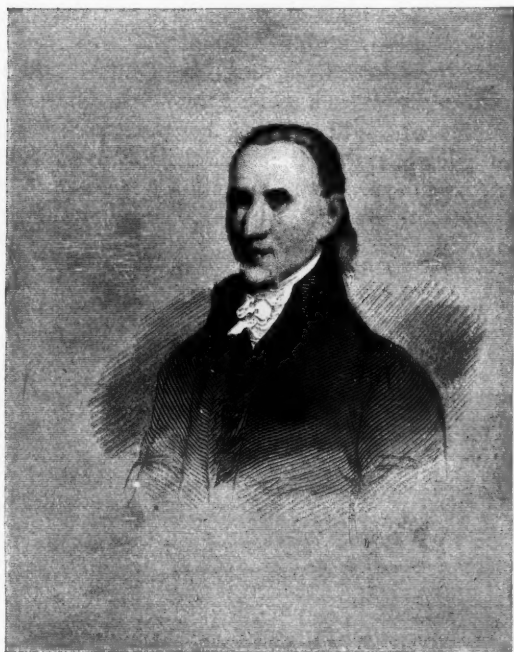


HENRY ALEXANDER SCAMMELL DEARBORN.

Eighth President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati.

1848-1854.

possible future of a people but recently introduced to the fruition of liberty oppressed by the hand of the power that conferred it. On the fair front of American independence was dimly visible the grim and grisly outline of a military despotism. The country was alarmed; but the alarm was evanescent. They to whom the appeal was addressed were incapable of the treason it advised; and the friends of liberty all over the world were assured by the invocation of the name of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus that "the officers of the American army having generally been taken from the citizens of America," * * * were resolved to "follow his example by returning to their citizenship." The crisis was met; the danger was past. The officers of the American army resolved themselves into "one Society of Friends," and they thought it no impropriety "to denominate themselves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI."



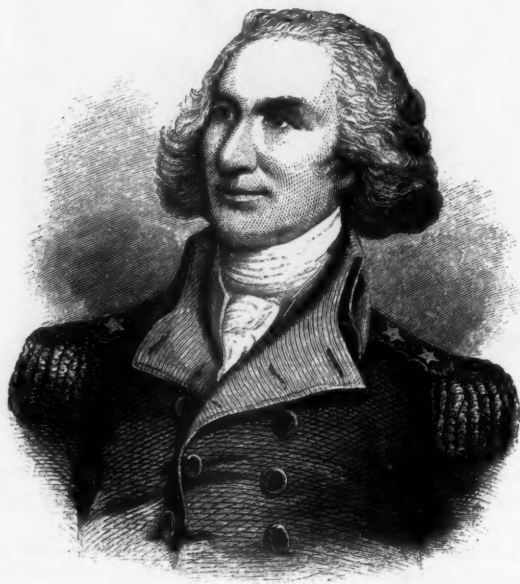
MARINUS WILLETT.

Mayor of New York City in 1807.

The names of its presidents-general are of the head roll of fame. The first and the mightiest of them is Washington. He officiated from

[Colonel Marinus Willett, born July 31, 1740, commenced his military career in the service of the British Government in the reign of George II., and was present at the battle of Lake George, where the first Lord Howe was killed. He was eminently distinguished in the war of the Revolution in the siege of Fort Stanwix, August, 1777. He made a sally from the fort in order to effect a diversion in favor of General Herkimer, at the head of two hundred and fifty men, totally routed two of the enemy's encampments, and captured their contents, including five British flags. The exploit did not cost a single patriot life, while at least six of the enemy were killed and four made prisoners. It aided to force the British retreat under St. Leger, from Oriskany. The captured flags were floated beneath the stars and stripes, fashioned in the fort from cloaks and shirts: and here for the first time the flag of the republic was raised in victory over British colors. In 1779 he accompanied Sullivan's successful expedition against the Indians. He was remarkable for personal bravery, military enterprise, and energy of character. After the war he resided in New York City, where he was elected to the mayoralty in 1807. In private life he was one of the most amiable of men.—EDITOR.]

its organization in 1783 to his death in 1800. Another succeeded, of scarcely less magnitude—Alexander Hamilton, who served to 1805. Thence followed in their order from 1805, Major-General the Hon. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; and from 1825, Major-General the Hon. Thomas Pinckney. Both were of South Carolina, and both were distinguished in the councils that guided, and on the fields that fixed, the destiny of their country. A civic wreath surmounts the military laurels of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and rare surviving witnesses, even now, relate the marvels of his senatorial and forensic career.



PHILIP SCHUYLER.

In 1829, Major-General the Hon. Aaron Ogden brought to the presidential seat the consideration which attached to an efficient commander of the forces of his native New Jersey, the virtual seat of the revolutionary war. He was with Lafayette in the Virginia Campaign of 1781, and at Yorktown gallantly led his light infantry to the storm of a redoubt. He was afterward a senator of the United States, and governor of New Jersey.

General Ogden was succeeded in 1839 by Major-General the Hon. Morgan Lewis, of New York, one of the many who, submitting social and political position to the hazard of espousing the cause of their country, attained to higher rank in its councils.

General Lewis was followed in 1844 by Brevet-Major William Popham, whose modest military grade was in sharp contrast with the ascendancy of his character.

Eighteen hundred and forty-eight witnessed the accession of the Hon. Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn—fitting delegate from Massachusetts, the mother of the revolution, and fitting representative in the



RICHARD VARICK.

councils of the Cincinnati, its oldest born progeny, of name of first lustre in the army of the revolution and ranking high among the founders of the society.

The roll ends with the name of the Hon. Hamilton Fish, of New York, the son of Major Nicholas Fish, conspicuous in concerting in the cabinet, and assiduously executing on the field, the measures which his patriotism devised. Its chief native citizen, and its foremost publicist, Hamilton Fish is appropriately the present head of the Cincinnati, born and nurtured on the soil of New York. The revival of the society in Rhode Island, and the representation again of that State in the general triennial meeting, exception-

ally distinguished his term, already protracted beyond those of his predecessors. Its acceptability is the assurance of its continuance for life.

Many are the illustrious names which the rolls of the society register among its founders. On that of New York the name of Major-General the Hon. Philip Schuyler stands among the chief. Intimately blended with the most important events of the Revolution, it has passed into history.



NATHANIEL GREENE.

The bold round signature of Major-General George Clinton, governor of New York through its first successive eighteen years of existence as a state, and vice-president of the United States from 1804 to 1812, recalls the vigorous straight-forward rule, whether in a military or civil capacity, of a man of deep thought and wide acquaintance with the principles of common and international law. The name of his distinguished brother, Brigadier-General James Clinton, appears also among the first members—a military magnate who rendered important services to his country, and who after the Revolution figured as a member of the convention that adopted the Constitution.

The names of General Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel Richard Varick and Colonel Nicholas Fish recall those heroic days when the gentry of New York cast their fortunes with their country, and staked their existence



GENERAL PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT.

upon its independence. An honest pride expands the eye that reads the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willett, the hero of Fort Stanwix; but when that of Lieutenant-Colonel Aaron Burr appears, comes with it the melancholy picture of transcendent qualities debased to ignoble purposes, high aspirations perverted by high-climbing ambition, and a consummate genius enthralled by the desires of the sensualist, and accomplished in the enticements of treason.

We read the characteristic signatures of General Anthony Walton White, who, reared in luxury, sought martial service in the great conflict, and earned distinction as a warrior; of General Samuel B. Webb, General Matthew Clarkson, Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston, General William North, who as the aide of Baron de Steuben became his warm personal friend, and heir to one half his property; of Colonel Simeon de Witt, geographer of the army; of Major Abraham Leggett, who made himself conspicuous by his courage and patriotism in the war; of Colonel John Trumbull, whose military life is so well known; of the soldier and prominent citizen Leonard Bleecker; of Abijah Hammond; of Colonel Robert Troup; of Garrit van Wagenen; of Jeremiah van Rensselaer; of Dr. Thomas Tillotson; and of the accomplished surgeon, Dr. Charles McKnight.

[The admirable portrait of General Philip van Cortlandt, painted in later life, preserved at the Van Wyck homestead, in Sing Sing, bears a striking resemblance to that of Lafayette in 1824. During Lafayette's tour in that year, those two gentlemen were frequently taken for each other.—EDITOR.]



AARON BURR.

Here, too, is the name of John Cochrane, surgeon-general and director-general of the military hospitals of the United States, a man com-

mended for singular unselfishness and devotion to duty; whose worth, recognized by Washington, secured his unsolicited promotion to the head of the medical department of the army of the revolution.

John Richardson Bayard Rodgers, another of the honored founders of the Cincinnati, served through the war as surgeon of the



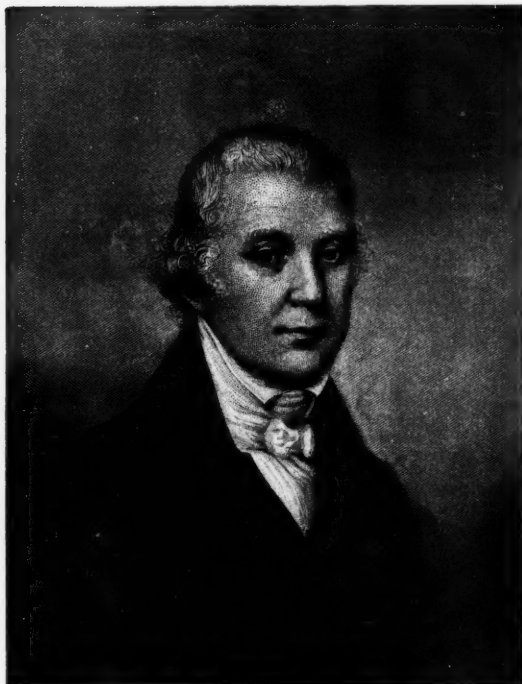
DR. JOHN COCHRANE.

First Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by his uncle, Colonel John Bayard, of Maryland.

When the army was disbanded, he went to Europe and finished his medical education at London and Paris, taking his degree of M.D. at Edinburgh, and returning home was appointed a professor of obstetrics in the medical department of Columbia College at New York.

Jonathan Burrall entered the army at an early period of the war, and at its close was deputy paymaster-general of the Northern department. Subsequently he became the first cashier, and afterward president of the Bank of America, in Wall Street, New York City.





SAMUEL WARD.

First on the roll of Rhode Island stands the name of Major-General Nathanael Greene—an officer unsurpassed by any in the revolution, the right arm of Washington, and the bulwark of the army. Then comes that of Colonel Samuel Ward, a brilliant exemplar of the ingenuous youth who at the call of their country forsook the allurements of peace

[Major-General Greene formed an accidental acquaintance in his youth with the learned Dr. Stiles, of Yale College memory, who was settled over a parish in Newport, Rhode Island, at the time. And the brilliant young student had also the good fortune about the same period to meet with Lindley Murray, the celebrated grammarian, to whom he paid a visit in New York. Whatever came in the young man's way furnished material for his mental improvement. When a lawsuit was entailed upon the family, he acquired a respectable knowledge of the profession for the sake of defending the invaded property. In the same way he took up the study of military science as the gathering storm of war o'erclouded the skies.—EDITOR.]



SOLOMON DROWNE, M.D.

for the hardships of the army, and rose to high rank in its service; and lastly, Surgeon Solomon Drowne, M.D., the associate of Ward, Warren, Arnold, Binney, Morgan, Varnum, Franklin, and others, who not only rendered important services in New York, Rhode Island, and other States during the revolution, but also delivered many patriotic addresses, and later became distinguished as professor of botany and materia medica in Brown University.

[Dr. Barnabas Binney, of Philadelphia, grandfather of the President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society—Jonathan Arnold, the ancestor of George William Curtis, and of Judge Noah Davis—Hon. James M. Varnum, of Rhode Island, first Judge of the Northwest Territory at Marietta, Ohio—Dr. John Morgan, director-general of the New York hospitals in 1776—Dr. Joseph Warren, of Bunker Hill fame—and Dr. Benjamin Franklin—are the gentlemen referred to in the text.—EDITOR.]



LAFAYETTE.

Another name, assigned to no state, but appropriated by the nation, illumines the rolls of the society—the name of one who, having devoted himself in the darkest hours of Liberty to her cause in one hemisphere, shed the lustre of his name on her cause in another—the name of Lafayette.

Associated with him, as members of the society, are the following officers of the French army and navy, the timely and generous alliance of whose king, Louis XVI., contributed essentially to the triumph of the American arms, their Excellencies the Count de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse, and the Count D'Estaing.

John Cochrane

A BALTIMORE PENNY

In June, 1880, a remarkable coin was unearthed in a trench opened in the principal street of the village of Waterville, in Maine. It was found about three feet below the surface of the roadway. The coin is now in the possession of Mr. A. A. Plaisted, of Waterville. It is described in none of the ordinary books on coins; it bears no date; but there is reason to believe that this piece of copper is a specimen of the earliest coinage for any English colony in America. The workmanship is excellent; the impression was made by machinery and not by the hammer; it must have been made, then, after Antoine Brucher invented his mill in 1553.

The weight of the coin is 292 grains. This is the weight of the English copper penny. Until the



THE WATERVILLE PENNY.

modern bronze tokens were adopted, the mint rate for English copper was 24 pennies to the pound avoirdupois, 291½ grains apiece.

Copper was first coined at the London mint in 1613. The pound sterling,

originally a pound of silver, was then less than a third of a pound troy. The silver farthings had disappeared, and the halfpennies were so small that Pinkerton says "a dozen of them might be in a man's pocket, and yet not be discovered without a good magnifying glass." It was no longer possible to avoid using the inferior metal, and yet it had been employed so often to falsify and debase the coin of the realm, that Queen Elizabeth dared not offer it to the people unmixed with silver, and King James hesitated long. The tradesmen had no such qualms of conscience, and their copper tokens increased and multiplied until at last, in 1613, King James decided to issue his royal farthing tokens, not as money, but as pledges to be redeemed in silver if desired. Upon these copper farthings was stamped a harp, with the purpose, it is believed, of sending them to Ireland if the English people refused them.* But the English people

* Pinkerton's Essay on Medals, 2d ed., vol. ii., p. 82.

found them useful and convenient, and the new coins slowly passed into circulation. In 1635 King Charles ventured to substitute the English rose for the harp on the copper farthings.

It may be inferred, then, that the copper penny with a harp for its chief device was probably coined during the period between 1613 and 1635, when the harp appeared upon the only copper coins as yet authorized by the British crown. The English penny was still coined in silver. Its copper counterpart was not for the home market.

The cross is also an English emblem. The coins struck by Cromwell in 1649 displayed the cross of St. George and the Irish harp on two shields, joined at the upper corners to symbolize the union of Great Britain and Ireland. The two shields thus joined together bore a fantastic likeness to a pair of breeches, and the coinage of the Commonwealth was commonly known as Breeches money; "a fit name," said Lord Lucas, "for the coins of the Rump." The cross and harp on the Waterville penny have evidently the same significance as the cross and harp on the Breeches coins. It is to be noted, too, that in both cases the cross, being inscribed in a shield, departs from the true form of the cross of St. George, the shape of the shield requiring a prolongation of the vertical shaft, though there is no doubt whatever that Cromwell's emblem was intended for the cross of Protestant England and not for the Roman cross which it resembles.



SIXPENCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.
From Humphreys's Coin Collector's
Manual.

The legend *Pro Patria et Avalonia*, "for Fatherland and Avalon," corresponds perfectly to the indications already noticed; for Avalon is the name of the Newfoundland province granted by King James in 1623 to Sir George Calvert, afterward Lord Baltimore. If Calvert had coined a penny for his province at any time within the next dozen years, he would have adopted as its principal device the harp which then figured upon the king's copper tokens; he would have placed the English cross upon the reverse, as Cromwell did upon the coins of the Commonwealth twenty years later; he would have marked the penny, *Pro Patria et Avalonia*.

Sir George had undoubtedly the right to issue coin for his province, for the grant bestowed upon him viceregal powers. He was made lord palatine of Avalon, as Sir William Alexander two years before had been made lord palatine of Nova Scotia, as the second Lord Baltimore became lord palatine of Maryland in 1632, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges became lord palatine of Maine in 1639. The rulers of these remote provinces were in-

vested with absolute civil and ecclesiastical authority within their several domains. They were empowered to grant titles, establish courts, found



GEORGE CALVERT.
First Lord Baltimore.

churches and appoint clergymen as well as civil and military officers. It was provided that their laws should not be repugnant to those of England, and that God's true and holy religion, meaning the religion of the church of England, should suffer no prejudice. But their acts required no royal sanction; their doings were not even to be reported to the king; nor was any royal tax or duty to be levied upon their people. In England at that time there was but one county palatine remaining—the northern county granted six hundred years before to the bishop and lord palatine of Durham, whose successors still held both titles. The

scheme of government for the American provinces was modeled upon the mediæval plan of the Durham palatinate. The mitre, crosier and pastoral staff on the Avalon penny may likewise have been borrowed from the coat of arms of the bishop of Durham to serve as insignia of the ecclesiastical authority of the lord of Avalon.

It is no mere inference that powers so extensive carried with them the right to coin money. Sir William Alexander was expressly authorized to coin copper, and it is well known that the second Lord Baltimore, under a charter copied from the Avalon patent, issued silver and copper coins in 1659 for his colony in Maryland. The shilling and sixpence of this issue are now rare, and the groat and penny are extremely rare, if not unique. The shilling bears on the face a portrait of Lord Baltimore with his title, *Cæcilius, Dominus Terræ Mariæ, &c.*, and on the reverse the arms of the palatinate with the motto *Crescite et multiplicamini*. The arms which appear on this coin are now quartered on the shield of the State of Maryland with the cross found on the Avalon penny.



BALTIMORE SHILLING.

From Mathews's *Coinages of the World*.

The word *Orpheus*, under the harp on the Avalon copper, plainly signifies the introduction of order and the arts of civilization in a savage land. The place *Spina Sanctus*, "sanctified by the thorn," was Avalon, and the thorn

was perhaps an actual offshoot from the miraculous thorn then growing in the English Avalon, which blossomed annually at Christmastide and was believed to be the veritable staff with which St. Joseph of Arimathea made his pilgrimage from the Holy Land when he came to found the famous abbey where Christianity was first taught in Great Britain. Grafts from this thorn still flourish in the gardens of Glastonbury on the ancient isle of Avalon. It is possible that Lord Baltimore was reminded of this sacred tree by the motto *Rosa sine spina*, adopted by Henry VIII. to advertise the union of the white and red roses of York and Lancaster in his own person, and continued on the silver pennies down to the very time when the province of Avalon was created. The Greek motto is ungrammatical. It should be, "*Ἀριστος μὲν ἄνθρωπος, ὀψιμὸς ὁ αἶρ*", and recalls the opening of Pindar's first Olympic ode: "*Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ*". But Pindar was simply repeating a Greek proverb: water, he said, is the chief element, gold the first among metals, and in like manner the Olympic games are pre-eminent among athletic exercises. The proverb recorded the theory of Thales, that water was the primal element from which earth, air and the fire of the sun and stars were evolved. Anaximenes afterward held that air was the first element, and in mythology the supremacy of Jupiter, the deity of the air, was universally conceded. But what had Englishmen in the seventeenth century to do with Greek cosmogony, or Roman fables? Conjecture fails to divine the significance of the phrase, unless, possibly, it may have been intended to commend the climate of Avalon. If so, Calvert presently discovered his error, which indeed had already been exposed, for in his *Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis*, published in 1622, Lord Bacon not only mentions the extreme rigor of the climate of Newfoundland, but offers an explanation, attributing the severe cold partly to the icebergs which come down from the frozen bays to the northward, but mainly to the prevailing land winds, which he considered colder than winds blowing from the sea.*

The Maryland coins of the second Lord Baltimore have no dates, though on English money the dates appeared in the time of Queen Elizabeth and were rarely omitted afterward. The date is wanting also on the Avalon



* Bacon's Works. Boston, 1862, vol. iii., p. 233.

penny, but may be determined with reasonable certainty; and this inquiry is the more worth while because the comings and goings of the elder Calvert in Newfoundland have only been mentioned casually by historians in this country, and there is some confusion about the times and seasons.* The true dates are established by contemporary documents still preserved in the British Public Record office.

European fishermen found their way to the Newfoundland banks in considerable numbers soon after the discovery of the island by Cabot in 1497. An effort was made to plant an English colony there in 1536, but many of the people perished, and the survivors went back to England. In 1548 an act of parliament forbade officers of the admiralty to exact money or shares of fish from fishermen or merchants interested in voyages to Newfoundland. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of the island under the first charter which passed the great seal of England for colonization in America; but while he was exploring the coast, and before he had landed his people, his ships were driven out to sea by a great storm, in which his own vessel was overwhelmed and lost, and the colony returned without effecting or attempting a settlement. In 1606 King James signed the great Virginia charter, and in 1610 a patent was issued to Henry, Earl of Northampton, Sir Francis Bacon, then solicitor-general, and others, constituting "the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the Cities of London and Bristol for the Colony and Plantation in Newfoundland."† Bacon appears to have taken very little interest in the adventure. The only reference to Newfoundland in his works is found in the passage already cited. The patent covered the whole country, "from 46 to 52 deg. north latitude, together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of the coast."‡ John Slaney, merchant, of London, was the first treasurer. John Guy, merchant, of Bristol, was appointed the first governor of the plantation, and removed with his family to the district of St. Johns. A settlement appears to have been made in 1608 or 1609. Other colonists followed in 1611 and 1613, and especially a company of Bristol people in 1616, who were described § a few years later as living very pleasantly in fair houses, and well disposed to entertain, on fit conditions, others who would be adventurers with them.

* Lodge, for example, says that Lord Baltimore abandoned Avalon in 1628; Bancroft, in 1629; and Lossing, in 1630. Lodge's *Short History of the English Colonies in America*, p. 94. Bancroft's *History of the United States*, chap. 7. Lossing's *Cyclopædia of United States History*, under *Baltimore*.

† Calendar of British Colonial Papers, p. 21.

‡ By Sir Richard Whitbourne, in his *Discourse on Newfoundland*, mentioned below. See Sabine's *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, p. 41.

The charter of 1610 reserved the rights of trading and fishing on the coast of Newfoundland to all comers, English or others; but Governor Guy thought it proper to restrain the lawlessness of the fishermen, and issued an idle proclamation in 1611 against their "bad customs." In 1615, Sir Richard Whitbourne, who had made many voyages to Newfoundland, arrived there with a commission from the admiralty to empanel juries and try disorderly fishermen. The governor's proclamation, thus reinforced, became a more serious matter, and in 1618 murmurs from the western ports of England reached the ears of the British government. The merchants complained that their vessels had been excluded from the best fishing grounds, their provisions had been stolen, they had not been allowed to take birds for bait, fees had been exacted from them contrary to law, and finally they had been robbed by pirates who were harbored by the colonists. The planters denied all these accusations save one. They had undertaken to reserve convenient fishing places, conceiving that the duty of maintaining a colony entitled them to such choice, but offered to join with the merchants in the fisheries and in keeping order in the country. The merchants stiffly replied that they knew better than the planters how to manage their own business, and were unwilling to be ordered by the planters or to join with them, wishing only that the liberties reserved to fishermen by the charter should be confirmed.*

This was the beginning of a great controversy, into which Sir George Calvert, though one of the most peaceable of men, was irresistibly drawn. Sir George, in 1618, was 39 years old. The son of a wealthy Yorkshire farmer, he had been educated at Oxford, and had made the grand tour of Europe. Returning from his travels, he was employed as a secretary by Robert Cecil in the department of state. When his patron became lord high treasurer in 1608, Calvert was still retained in his service, and afterward, through Cecil's influence, became one of the clerks of the privy council. He had written and published a Latin ode while an undergraduate at Oxford, and had scholarly tastes which pleased the royal pedant into whose immediate presence he was now brought. In 1617 he was knighted; and in 1619 he was appointed one of the two secretaries of state, and became himself a member of the privy council. He had married Anne Minne in 1604. His eldest son, Cecil, afterward the founder of Maryland, was 14 years old in 1619. His second son, Leonard, the first governor of Maryland, was 13. To this prosperous gentleman the condition of England seemed, in most respects, satisfactory. Gratitude bound him to the person of the king, whom he had known only as a benefactor. His conserv-

* Colonial Papers, p. 20.

ative temper inclined him to maintain the time-honored prerogatives of royalty. But he regretted the separation of the Church of England from the ancient church of Rome and Christendom. For his part, he was a moderate Catholic and a loyal subject of King James.

In 1620, Secretary Calvert, with other members of the privy council, signed the warrant directing the solicitor-general to draw up a new charter for the northern company of Virginia. The Virginia charter of 1606 had authorized two companies, commonly known as the Plymouth company and the London company, to plant colonies in America—the Plymouth company anywhere between the 38th and 45th parallels of latitude, and the London company anywhere between the 34th and 41st, though it was provided that the two settlements should be at least a hundred miles apart.* The London company had established a colony at Jamestown, and had come to be known as the Virginia company, having secured, in 1609, a special grant of territory extending 400 miles along the coast and so through the continent from sea to sea; and in 1612, another, including all islands within 300 leagues of the mainland. Whereupon, some years afterward, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, thinking it reasonable to use like diligence in the affairs of the northern company, made application for all the mainland and adjacent islands between the 40th and 48th parallels, regarding the 40th parallel as the northern boundary of the Virginia company, and proposing to call the northern territory New England. This petition was granted, and the patent was issued on the 3d of November, 1620, creating at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, a council of forty gentlemen for the planting, ruling and ordering of New England. Edward Lord Gorges, Sir Ferdinando's father, was chosen president of the council.

No sooner had the New England charter passed the great seal than the Virginia company protested against it. Their coast line extended, it seems, from Old Point Comfort 200 miles each way, overlapping the 40th parallel on the north, so that the new patent purported to give away a part of their lands. The privy council, after listening to a long debate, dismissed the complaint, regarding the strip of unknown wilderness as not worth contending about; but Gorges says † he was plainly told that he would hear more of the matter in the next parliament, and the prediction was surprisingly verified, though in the parliamentary discussion the question about the Virginia boundary was kept in the background.

* The Virginia Charter, with other colonial documents of the same period, is printed as an appendix to Poor's *Vindication of Gorges*, p. 93.

† In his *Brief Narration of the Original Undertakings for the Advancement of Plantations in America*. *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii. p. 34.

The parliament which met on the 30th of January, 1621, was the famous assembly which waited upon the king with a petition asking for the better execution of the laws against Jesuits and Popish recusants; which sent Sir Francis Michell to the Tower for his exactions from the keepers of ale houses; impeached Sir Giles Monperson for his impositions upon inn-keepers; impeached and convicted Lord Chancellor Bacon for taking bribes; and finally prepared a remonstrance against the proposed marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish infanta. The king was anxious to conciliate the house of commons. There was a prospect of war in Germany, and he wanted money. He made a gracious answer to the petition for a better execution of the laws against Catholics. He approved the proceedings against Michell and Monperson, and promised that all monopolies, such as they had abused, should be revoked. He did not interfere to stay the impeachment of Bacon, though he afterward remitted a good part of the penalties imposed upon that eminent man. But when the house ventured to meddle with the Spanish marriage, he lost all patience. In a letter to the speaker, he sharply reprimanded the commons for presuming to tender an opinion unasked on such deep matters of state. A committee was sent to remonstrate, but got no satisfaction. On the day before the adjournment, the house drew up a protest, in which an unlimited right was asserted to interpose with advice and counsel in all matters touching the peace and dignity of the realm. The king was furious. Sending for the journal, he tore out the record with his own hand, and presently sent Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Phillips to the Tower, and Selden, Pym and Mallory to other prisons, to reflect upon their misconduct.

Sir George Calvert sat in this turbulent parliament for his native country. It was his duty as secretary of state to explain, at the beginning of the session, the condition of affairs in Germany and the need of sufficient force to maintain the honor of England.* He had himself conducted the negotiations touching the Spanish marriage, believing, like many others, that a Catholic queen might secure more consideration for the professors of the ancient religion. It was his part also to defend the New England charter, which had been granted by his advice. Exception was taken to that instrument because it expressly gave the fisheries in the seas adjoining New England to the company of planters, forbade all British subjects to "visit, frequent, trade or adventure to traffic into or from the said territories," without the license or consent of the council at Plymouth, and provided for the seizure and forfeiture of ships engaged in such unlicensed

* Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, vol. ii., p. 420.

voyages wherever found, whether within the King's dominions or upon the high seas.* Calvert defended these provisions. The fishermen, he said, hindered the work of colonization. They had no stake in the country. They choked the harbors with their ballast, and wasted the forests by improvident destruction. Furthermore, he reminded the house that America had not been annexed to the realm, and contended that the parliament had no right to interfere with the king's disposition of these outlying lands and their appurtenances. This argument had but little weight with a body which years before had forbidden the king's officers to levy taxes upon the Newfoundland fishermen, and was then engaged in breaking up domestic monopolies of all sorts. A bill was prepared to secure free fishing in American waters, and might perhaps have received the king's assent earlier in the session, but before it had passed through the routine of legislation, the king had lost his temper, and the parliament was dismissed. Gorges always believed that the parliamentary opposition to the New England charter had its root in the jealousy of the Virginia company, and this opinion was confirmed by the appearance of Sir Edwin Sandys, president of the Virginia company, as one of the principal advocates of free fishing. King James, angered by the pretensions of the parliament, regarded the attempt to overrule the charter as a seditious assault upon his prerogative, and adopted the quarrel as his own. Thenceforward the northern company enjoyed his special favor, and the southern adventurers encountered a series of annoyances culminating in the revocation of the Virginia charter in 1624.

It appears from the minutes of the council for New England that Secretary Calvert was to have been admitted to the board in a new patent much talked of in 1622 but never perfected. An estate west of the Sagadahoc river was allotted to him in July of that year, but was afterward included in the province of Maine granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.† The prudent secretary was not the man to buy a lawsuit, and it was plain that the troubles of the New England company had only begun. It has been inferred from a well known passage in the *Biographia Britannica* that Calvert was previously associated with Chief Justice Popham in the affairs of the northern colony. "Judge Popham and he," it is said, "agreed in the public design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of managing them. The first was for extirpating the original inhabitants, the second for converting them; the former sent the lowliest people to those places, the latter the soberest; the one was for making present profit, the

* Appendix to Poor's Vindication of Gorges, p. 113.

† Colonial Papers, p. 32. See, also, appendix to Poor's Vindication of Gorges, p. 123.

other for a reasonable expectation." But Popham died in 1607, and Calvert was then an obscure clerk in the service of Robert Cecil. The comparison simply describes the methods of two men engaged at different times in similar transactions—truthfully, so far as Calvert is concerned, but with scant justice to Popham.

There is no evidence that Calvert was ever personally interested in the New England enterprise. On the contrary, in 1622 he was already engaged in another quarter. In March, 1621, his attention had been officially called to the plantation in Newfoundland by a petition from the company of adventurers, stating that during twelve years of quiet possession under the king's patent the province had become a hopeful country, but complaining that the coast was infested by pirates and disturbed by the disorderly courses of fishermen, and asking that Captain John Mason, then governor of the colony, might be commissioned as king's lieutenant, with two ships, or more if needed, to correct these irregularities.* The petition was referred to Secretary Calvert and other members of the privy council, and on their report Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others were appointed commissioners to establish order among the fishermen at Newfoundland. To this "hopeful country," in the same year, Calvert sent over a great number of men and women, with all necessary provisions, who began clearing land, building houses and preparing to make salt for the next year's fishing. This colony was planted in the district then and still called Ferryland, on the southeast coast of the island. Sir Richard Whitbourne, about this time, wrote a large discourse on the prospects of Newfoundland, which was presented to King James and ordered to be printed and distributed in every parish throughout England, to show the benefit of settling a plantation there; and on the last day of the year 1622, Calvert, having bought the rights of the former grantees, acquired for himself and his heirs the whole island. In March, 1623, the grant was confirmed under the king's sign manual, with additional privileges.† The king bestowed upon Calvert "all that entire portion of land situate within our country of Newfoundland," and all islands within ten leagues of the eastern shore thereof, to be incorporated into a province named Avalon, for the sacred isle in Somersetshire where the Abbots of Glastonbury were once sovereigns in their own right, and neither king nor bishop dared intrude without their permission.‡ The great peninsula containing

* Colonial Papers, pp. 25, 26. Captain John Mason was afterward the founder of New Hampshire.

† Colonial Papers, pp. 35, 41, 42. For Whitbourne's discourse see p. 82.

‡ Johnson's Foundation of Maryland, 1883, p. 18.

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the districts of St. Johns and Ferryland is still called Avalon, and an obstinate impression has long prevailed that this peninsula alone was acquired by Calvert; but the language of the patent is too plain to be misunderstood.

Meanwhile, the council for New England had levied a tonnage tax amounting to about £20 on every vessel engaged in the fishing trade within the limits of their patent;* the king had issued a proclamation forbidding all persons to trade upon the New England coast without a license; orders of the privy council to regulate the trade and commerce of New England were printed, and the admiralty was directed to affix a copy to the mainmast of every English ship; Captain Francis West was sent out by the corporation as admiral of the coast; two pinnaces were assigned to the company by King James "for protection of the New England fishermen;" the king furthermore sent urgent letters to the officers of the crown in Devon, Somerset and Cornwall, directing them to use their influence to promote the formation of companies to colonize New England.† But these energetic measures failed utterly. Most of the fishermen, it was thought, took out licenses, but some trusted to their seamanship to avoid the company's admiral and the king's pinnaces, and others abandoned their customary voyages. Captain West sailed fruitlessly along the coast, and drifted off to Virginia. No emigrants went to New England, save the already expatriated Pilgrims from Holland and the few people sent over by the members of the Plymouth council at their own cost.

The complaints from the western ports were loud and menacing. It was no longer with the Virginia company that the council for New England had to do. When the parliament met in February, 1624, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was summoned to the bar of the angry house of commons, and ordered to show cause why the New England patent should not be vacated as an odious monopoly, contrary to the laws and restraining the privileges of the subject. A day was set for a hearing, and Gorges appeared with counsel, who answered the legal objections to the charter. The knight himself then took the word. It belonged to the planters rather to complain of the fishermen, he said, who abused and demoralized the savages, and sold them fire-arms, endangering the peace and the lives of the colonists. The enlargement of the king's dominions and the advancement of religion in those desert parts were matters of highest consequence, far exceeding a simple and disorderly course of fishing, which would soon be given over in any case; for so goodly a coast would not long be left un-

* Sabine's Report on the Fisheries, p. 43.

† Colonial Papers, pp. 33, 34, 35, 37, 54.

peopled by the French, Spanish, or Dutch, so that if the English plantation should be destroyed, the fishing would be lost. These were strong reasons, but they failed to convince the house. Sir George Calvert had been returned for Oxford, and again contended that a policy of permanent colonization in the new world ought to be steadily pursued; but a bill to revoke the charter passed both houses, and only failed because the king withheld his assent. The charter was never revoked. Yet the resolute demand of the commons prevailed. The fishing tax was quietly discontinued by the New England council, and in the later grants to Gorges and others, the right of free fishing was scrupulously reserved.

The Spanish match was now definitely abandoned. Prince Charles had recently returned from a romantic journey to Madrid, whither he went with the Duke of Buckingham, and at the duke's suggestion, to urge his own suit. The two young men had been entertained with great respect, but the duke had been regarded by the Spanish grandees as somewhat too forward, and bitterly resented the intimation. The prince had been wearied by diplomatic delays, and both returned fully determined to break off the negotiation. The king was compelled to accept this conclusion, which the Duke of Buckingham announced to the parliament. The announcement was received with the utmost satisfaction. The people of London expressed their joy by lighting bonfires and insulting the Spanish ambassador when he went abroad.

This was a serious disappointment to Sir George Calvert. He knew what the people only suspected, of the secret treaty whereby King James, in consideration of this marriage, agreed to suspend the penal laws against Catholics, and to have them repealed by parliament. All hope in this direction was now at an end, and the parliament was bent on enforcing the laws against papists with new rigor. It was ordered that members of the House of Commons should present the names of persons suspected of Popery in their several counties and boroughs. Buckingham, who had suddenly become a popular favorite, felt and resented Calvert's disapprobation. There was no open rupture, but a coolness arose between them. After the dissolution of parliament, Calvert resigned his office of secretary. He had been appointed for life, and received a fee of £6000 from his successor, according to the custom of the time. At the desire of the king, he remained in the privy council, and a few days before the king's death in 1625, was made baron of Baltimore in the Irish peerage. After the coronation of King Charles, the oath of allegiance was tendered to the privy councillors, but Lord Baltimore declined to repeat that formula, and retired to his Irish estate in county Longford.

The oath of allegiance then in use was devised after the discovery of the gunpowder plot in 1605, and contained the following passage:

And I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position: that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.

These words implied, and were meant to imply, that a suspicion of disloyalty and treason might justly rest upon every Catholic subject. Lord Baltimore refused to countenance this suspicion, but he retained the king's esteem and friendship unabated. It was not by Catholics that King Charles was afterward deposed and murdered, but by a Puritan parliament. The opinion has long prevailed that Lord Baltimore's refusal to take the oath indicated a change of religion; but there is reason to believe that he had been a Catholic from his youth up. The oaths imposed by the test acts in the time of Charles II. were notoriously evaded in many cases, and the probability is that the same easy practice existed at the court of King James, and that Calvert had never before been confronted with the oath of allegiance.

After his withdrawal to Ireland, Lord Baltimore turned his undivided attention to the colony in Ferryland, which he began to regard as a refuge where Catholics might enjoy the rights of loyal Englishmen. In a memorial touching his right to a part of Newfoundland, the second lord said in 1637, that his father had sent over divers colonies, built houses, erected forts, and disbursed altogether more than £20,000. In a petition to Charles II., immediately after the restoration in 1660, the same lord said that his father had built a fair house, in which he resided, and expended above £30,000.* The expenditure appears to have grown during the interval between these two statements, but there is no doubt it was very large. The mansion was probably finished in 1627, when Lord Baltimore made his first visit to Newfoundland.

On the 21st of May, 1627, Lord Baltimore wrote from his lodgings in London to his old friend, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterward earl of Strafford, who remained in the king's service, and lost his head for his pains:

I am heartily sorry that I am farther from my hopes of seeing you, before leaving this town, which will be now within these three or four days, being bound for a long journey to a place which I have had a long desire to visit, and have now the opportunity and leave to do it.

It is New Foundland I mean, which it imports me more than in curiosity only to see. For I must either go and settle it in better order, or else give it over and lose all the

* Colonial Papers, pp. 246, 481.

charges I have been at hitherto for other men to build their fortunes upon. And I had rather be esteemed a fool by some, for the hazard of one month's journey, than to prove myself one certainly for six years by past, if the business be now lost for the want of a little pains and care.*

Two ships, the *Ark of Avalon*, 160 tons, and the *George of Plymouth*, 140 tons, had been sent over in April with Sir Arthur Aston, afterward governor of Avalon. The *Ark*, six years later, carried the first colony to Maryland. Lord Baltimore followed in the early summer, arriving at Ferryland about the 23d of July. He brought with him two priests, Anthony Smith and Longvill, to the great discontent of Erasmus Stourton, the English preacher to the colony. These movements attracted much notice in England, and Newfoundland lands, especially in the St. Johns district, began to be regarded as desirable property.†

Late in the fall, Lord Baltimore returned to England, and in April, 1628, removed with his children and his second wife to Avalon. William Peasley, who accompanied the family, was then or afterward became Lord Baltimore's son-in-law. Stourton's distress was aggravated when he perceived that forty Papists, with another priest named Hacket, had come over at this time; his passion passed all bounds when he learned that mass was celebrated at the great house every Sunday. He seems to have broken forth in open remonstrance and reviling, for the "audacious man," as Lord Baltimore calls him, was banished "for his misdeeds" in August, and returning to England, busied himself in ineffectual efforts to stir up the privy council against the Popish colony.‡

But Lord Baltimore had more serious matters than the petulance of a disaffected clergyman to deal with in August. Monsieur De la Rade, of Dieppe, appeared upon the coast with three French ships and about 400 men, the flower of the youth of Normandy, and captured a number of English fishing vessels. Baltimore sent out two ships, one of 360 tons with 24 guns, and upon their approach the Frenchman made haste to depart, leaving his prizes, with 67 of his own men on board, who were taken prisoners. With the help of the fishing fleet, Lord Baltimore afterward captured six French vessels, and sent them as prizes to England. William Peasley was the bearer of despatches on this occasion to the king and to Buckingham, and presented Lord Baltimore's petition for two men-of-war to guard the coast. In December, one of the prize ships, the *St. Claude*, was delivered to Leonard Calvert for this purpose.

* Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 41. Colonial Papers, p. 83.

† Colonial Papers, pp. 86, 92.

‡ Colonial Papers, pp. 94, 100.

Lady Baltimore had soon wearied of Ferryland, and accompanied by Cecil Calvert, sailed away to Virginia.* Her husband remained at his post, but was moved, by her letters probably, to apply in December for a portion of land in Virginia, now a royal province, and received answer that he should have any part not granted.† His desire for an estate in a milder climate was strengthened by his experience of a Newfoundland winter, as appears by his letter written to King Charles August 19, 1629:

Have met with grave difficulties and incumbrances here, which in this place are no longer to be resisted, but enforce me presently to quit my residence and to shift to some other warmer climate of this new world where the winters be shorter and less rigorous.

For here your Majesty may please to understand that I have found by too dear bought experience, which other men for their private interests always concealed from me, that from the middle of October to the middle of May there is a sad fare of winter upon all this land, both sea and land so frozen for the greater part of the time, as they are not penetrable; no plant or vegetable thing appearing out of the earth until it be about the beginning of May, nor fish in the sea; besides the air is so intolerable cold as it is hardly to be endured.

By means whereof, and of much salt meat, my house hath been an hospital, all this winter, of 100 persons, fifty sick at a time, myself being one, and nine or ten of them died.

Hereupon I have had strong temptations to leave all proceedings in plantations, and being much decayed in my strength, to retire myself to my former quiet; but my inclination carrying me naturally to these kind of works, and not knowing how better to employ the poor remainder of my days, than with other good subjects, to further the best I may, the enlarging your Majesty's empire in this part of the world, I am determined to commit this place to fishermen that are able to encounter storms and hard weather, and to remove myself with some forty persons to your Majesty's domain, Virginia, where, if your Majesty will please to grant me a precinct of land with such privileges as the King, your father, was pleased to grant me here, I shall endeavor to the utmost to deserve it.‡

To this the king replied in November that men of Lord Baltimore's condition and breeding were fitter for other employments than the framing of new plantations, which commonly have rugged and laborious beginnings, and advised him to return to his native country, where he might be assured of such respect as his former services and late endeavors justly deserved.§

But Lord Baltimore, without waiting for this answer, had already departed for Virginia, where he arrived about the beginning of October. His intention then was to settle to the southwest of Jamestown, though he indicated a willingness to remain there; but Governor Pott thereupon tendered to him and his followers the oaths of supremacy and allegiance which had been administered to all the Virginia colonists, and these Lord Balti-

* Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. ix., p. 97, *note*.

† Colonial Papers, p. 95. Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 46.

‡ Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 42.

§ Colonial Papers, p. 104.

more and his party declined to take, though he indicated a form which he would be glad to substitute. The governor replied that he had no authority to depart from the prescribed form, and soon afterward sent a petition to the privy council, reporting Lord Baltimore's refusal to take the oaths, and praying that no papists might be allowed to settle among them.

On receiving the king's letter, Lord Baltimore immediately returned to England. Cecil appears to have gone with him, but his wife remained in Virginia. In February, 1630, he was preparing a bark to bring his wife and servants home, and it was sent out in due season, but the unfortunate lady was lost at sea.*

A year later, in February, 1631, Lord Baltimore had applied for a tract of land south of the James river, and a charter was granted; but William Clayborne, secretary of Virginia, who afterward made much trouble for Maryland, was then in London, and on his representations the patent was revoked.† Baltimore then secured a grant of the territory south of the 40th parallel of latitude, and north and east of the Potomac river. He had intended to name this province *Crescentia*, but the king desired him to call it *Terra Mariæ*, in honor of the queen, *Henrietta Maria*, and refusal was impossible. The motto on the second lord's shilling appears to have been suggested by his father's choice of a name for the province. The Maryland charter was drawn up by Lord Baltimore himself, and was mainly copied from the Avalon patent. Before it had passed the seals, death put an end to all his plans. He died April 9, 1632, in the 53d year of his age. The charter was issued in June to Cecil Lord Baltimore, and confirmed, notwithstanding the objections of the Virginians.

How completely Cecil Calvert executed his father's design, all the world knows. He founded a colony which became not only a refuge for Catholics, but for Puritans driven out of Virginia, and for Quakers. This well-governed colony became a profitable estate, and was handed down from one Baltimore to another, until the American revolution swept it away. Some fragments were saved, too, from the Newfoundland wreck. When George Calvert left Avalon, he left a governor there, who remained until after his master's death. Cecil Calvert then appointed William Hill governor; but in 1637, while England was on the brink of civil war, Sir David Kirke surreptitiously obtained a patent, and the next year went over and took possession of the island. Lord Baltimore waited patiently until after the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, and then recovered from Sir David's heirs the houses and lands which had belonged to his father.

* Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. ix., p. 96, *note*.

† Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 47.

There can be no doubt that the Avalon penny, with its quaint inscriptions, was coined by the ingenious nobleman who pictured himself at one time as a new St. Joseph, inspired to plant the Christian religion in a heathen land, and again as a modern Noah, sailing in the Ark over desert seas to found a better community than that which for him was drowned and lost beyond the watery horizon. He named the pinnacle which accompanied the Ark, the Dove. His penny was probably coined after his first visit to Newfoundland and before his return—in 1628. If so, it is thirty years older than the Maryland penny coined by the second Lord Baltimore in 1659, and nearly a hundred years older than the *Rosa Americana* penny struck by King George, in 1722, for the American colonies. It was not until 1737 that Higley, of Granby, in Connecticut, coined the first copper struck in America. The first silver was the rude New England shilling coined in Massachusetts in 1652, and soon followed by the Pine Tree coinage.

H. W. Richardson

THE GEOGRAPHICAL NOMENCLATURE OF LOUISIANA

A prominent New Yorker is very enthusiastic in "The Manhattaner in New Orleans" over the queer, romantic and picturesque names borne by the streets of "the Crescent City." Had he looked a little further, he would have extended this enthusiasm to the entire state. The French were much better at naming a country than at colonizing it, and Louisiana, in consequence, is richer in poetic and historic names than any other state in the Union.

A study of its geographical nomenclature will prove both interesting and profitable to the historian. The lakes and mountains of a country are everlasting monuments that carry, graven in their names, the stories of the dim and distant past, the records of races long since extinct, of events long since forgotten. On the map of Louisiana one can read to-day the stories of the Indian, French, Spanish and American dominions, and follow with absolute certainty every step and movement of the early explorers.

What more graphic account, for instance, is wanted of the expeditions made by the two brothers, Iberville and Bienville, into this New France, in 1699, and which induced the French to occupy and colonize the Mississippi Valley, than that told in the names of capes, bays and bayous baptized by them? The first resting place of this adventurous French party was on a large stream emptying into Mississippi Sound. While landed there, one of their dogs, swimming in the river, was devoured by a crocodile, "wherefore we called it 'Dog River,'" the chronicler of the expedition writes. The wind carried them thence westward to a desolate sandy island, where they stopped and pitched their tents for a good night's rest ashore. When they awoke in the morning a favorable wind was blowing, and, in their anxiety to profit by it, they hurried to their boat, forgetting in their haste a bag of peas they had brought with them. It was only when dinner time came around that they remembered this, and it was then too late to return to the island, which became *Isle des Petits Pois*, or "Pea Island," and is such to this day, although it has probably not seen a pea since 1699. The next day being *Mardi Gras*, Shrove Tuesday, the bayou up which they rowed a-fishing received that name. Just opposite, across the sound, is a cape or point which they made in the evening. Here a

silver dish which Iberville valued very highly was lost, and furnished them with another name, *Pointe à l'Assiette*, or "Dish Point."

"At the next stopping place," says the historiographer of this expedition, "we killed a number of cats, and so called the island Cat Island." The name is a misnomer, like "the battle of Bunker's Hill," the animals killed being not cats, but raccoons, with which the island abounds. Pearl River, a short distance off (whose ancient Indian name, Tallahatchie, also signifying "the River of Pearls," has been stolen by an Alabama stream), gets its title from the fact that the Indians who lived on its banks used a peculiar kind of shell which they obtained from the river in scraping their canoes. These shells contained pearls, upon which the savages placed no value, but turned over to the French. "They were carried to Paris," writes one of the men, "but we never learned whether they were true pearls or not."

As Bienville passed up the Mississippi he encountered a passage or portage through which he found it necessary to drag his boats. Across a narrow isthmus, "only a musket shot wide," as they measured it in those primitive days, the river had already begun to trickle slowly. Bienville removed the raft of logs and snags that obstructed it, and the water rushed through tumultuously, cutting off the point and giving birth to the name *Pointe Coupée*, "Cut-off Point," borne to this day by a Louisiana parish and town, in memory of an incident that occurred nearly two centuries ago. Thus the whole itinerary of this expedition, its every incident, is pictured vividly in the names of capes and islands, of rivers and bayous.

Such was the system of nomenclature adopted by these early French explorers, who found in little every-day incidents, such as spoiled their dinner or interfered with their sleep, that plentiful supply of names that Falstaff sighed for. When these gave out, their sweethearts and patrons at court, the king's mistresses and *roués* stood sponsors for New France—the *Comptes de Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain* for the two large lakes just back of New Orleans; the *Prince de Condé* and *M. de Colbert* for two important rivers, while the capital of the new country received its name from the immoral, dissolute *Philippe d'Orléans*. Generally, however, a Catholic priest accompanied the expedition to keep the young men straight and to solemnize the transfer of any new world they might come across from its original possessor, the devil, to his most Christian Majesty of France, as *terræ infidelium et paganorum*, with the usual religious rites of nailing a crucifix to a tree and burying a few *louis d'or* or silver pieces near by. In this event, the father was given the right of baptism. He seldom wandered from his breviary or church almanac, and sought to sanctify the

country and exorcise its evil reputation with the saints of old as if with holy water. The Devil's Falls became sacred to St. Anthony of Padua, and the lake of the Great Spirit to St. George of Cappadocia and England. So assiduously did the priests labor in this work of conversion that old Milhet complains that "these fathers have produced more saints in this devil's country than sixteen centuries of Christianity have produced in Europe." Under this rule the Mississippi River became the St. Louis, the Red the St. Jerome and the Missouri the St. Philip, while the names of saints and patriarchs were scattered liberally throughout Louisiana.

To this day, that state shows the effect of this early religious training. Those subdivisions called counties in every other state in the Union are known in Louisiana as parishes; and the names of those parishes, traveling from New Orleans northward, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, St. James, Ascension and Assumption, show that they are clearly of clerical origin. The people of Louisiana have clung to this system with that obstinate love of old customs and names peculiar to the Creoles. Soon after the Americans came in, about 1808, the territorial legislature made the civil divisions of Louisiana conform to those of the other states, and the territory was divided into counties; but this change was regarded as semi-revolutionary by the Creoles, and, after a very short experience of counties, Louisiana went back to its parishes again in 1817, and has clung to them ever since.

Take a map of Louisiana, and if you have the key to it, if you understand the meaning of its Indian, French and Spanish names, you will be in possession of much of its history, for very few events have occurred within its limits that have not left their imprint upon its geography.

One will be struck at first, perhaps, with the slight impression that the Spanish rule seems to have made on Louisiana. It was a beneficent rule for the colony in every way, and the Spaniards, who governed their other American possessions so ill, proved here kinder and more generous than the French themselves had been. To them Louisiana owed all its early government buildings, its hospitals and asylums, and they expended large sums of money to improve this colony, the shield and defense of their possessions in Mexico; and yet, except the law of Louisiana, which is the natural child of the old Spanish civil law, as laid down in the *Partidas*, there is scarcely anything to show that the Spaniards held possession of Louisiana for thirty-four years. In St. Bernard parish, on Bayou Terre-aux-Bœufs, close to New Orleans, some sonorous old Spanish names and bright young Spanish faces still linger, relics of that colony of Canary Islanders—called *islingues*, a corruption of *isleños*, or islanders, by the Cre-

oles—established there by Governor Galvez in 1779, but they are the only representatives of Spain left. The truth is that the French Creoles of Louisiana were never hispanialized, while the Spaniards of the colony, with rare exceptions, were office-holders, who left New Orleans for Havana the very day that the flag of Castile and Aragon was hauled down from the old cabildo or government house. Governors Carondelet and Galvez founded several Spanish colonies in Louisiana. Their very names, Valenzuela and Galvezton, have disappeared; but one survives in the town of New Iberia, Nueva Yberia. This is the only Spanish name in southern Louisiana, except Cocodrie, a negroism of the Spanish cocodrillo or crocodile, an alias for an alligator, which is as different from a crocodile as a frog from a turtle.

But in the northwestern portion of the state, in the parishes of Sabine, De Soto and Natchitoches, a number of Castilian names still linger; bayous Toro, "bull," Negrito, "black"—they spell it "Negreet" nowadays,—San Patrice, San Miguel, San Jose and others, telling an episode in American history which came very near plunging this country into war, but of which our histories give no particulars. When Louisiana was transferred from Spain to France and from France to the United States, all in the space of a few months, great uncertainty existed as to its western boundary, which had never been accurately determined. The Spaniards had established themselves at several points on the east bank of the Sabine in what is now Louisiana, and they claimed this country, called Nueva Philippina, or the New Philippines, by right of prescription. At the time of the transfer of the colony to Napoleon, the Spanish commandant at Adaïs and the French colonel at Natchitoches made an arrangement that the Arroyo, or Rio Hondo, should serve temporarily as a boundary between Texas and Louisiana. The Rio Hondo, or Deep Creek, as it is now translated, is a gully six miles from the town of Natchitoches, dry except in rainy weather, when it forms a small bayou. The arrangement between these officers, which was wholly unauthorized and without force or validity, left the Spaniards, when the colony was turned over to the United States, in possession of a large tract of land which was considered by our government to constitute a portion of the Louisiana purchase, and which, indeed, embraces to-day the parishes of Sabine, De Soto and Natchitoches. This country, however, the Spaniards refused to surrender; indeed, they seemed determined to annex even the town of Natchitoches itself, the principal settlement in the Red River district. A large army was sent from San Antonio and Santa Fé to the border; and Don Felix Marrero, bishop of Nueva Leon, came to Natchitoches to preach and baptize, and made such

a strong appeal to the religious prejudices of the inhabitants, all of them Creoles and Catholics, that they threatened to secede from the Union. Governor Claiborne ordered an army of 400 men against the Spaniards. The two armies watched each other, only a few hundred paces apart, and a straw might easily have precipitated a war; but the Spaniards, although they were much more numerous than the Americans, never advanced, while our government was so anxious for peace that it failed to assert its claim to this territory, to which it was clearly entitled. The Spaniards held possession of this portion of the United States for several years afterward, in defiance of all treaties; and, as late as 1844, Congress had to pass an act to settle this question. Where the Spanish army encamped in 1803 stands the village of Spanishtown to-day. Near by is Spanish Lake—it is still marked as a lake on the map, but its waters have long since dried up, and it is now a collection of prosperous farms—and all around, the country is filled with the sonorous, musical names of Castile and Andalusia.

The traces of the German colony established on the Mississippi by John Law, and Crozat, the original founder of Louisiana, are also rapidly disappearing. This German episode is a fair sample of the French system of colonization. The early colonists being without wives, a regular contract was made with the prison authorities of Paris to ship to New Orleans the inmates of La Salpêtrière and similar female prisons as spouses for the unmarried men. A very bad bargain it turned out, as these women were old and ugly, too old to become the mothers of families, the principal duty expected of them. Farmers being also needed, another contract was made for a supply of industrious Germans; just such a contract as that under which the Landgrave of Hesse sold his subjects to the British army during our revolutionary war. A large number of Germans, mainly Alsacians, were brought over under the contract, and located on the Mississippi river, some forty miles above New Orleans. There their descendants live to this day. A German, if brought to this country and told the nationality of its inhabitants, would be more than astonished. They lost their mother language more than a century ago. They are now representative Creoles in habits, in ideas, in names. Most of them have simply translated their names into French, Herr Zweig becoming Monsieur La Branche. There is not a Teutonic peculiarity left lingering among them, except it be that blondes are more frequent here than in most Latin countries. Years ago, the district in which these people live was known as "the German coast," including the parishes of St. John the Baptist and St. James, but that title vanished more than half a century ago. That most beautiful stream in Louisiana, the famous Têche, a corruption of Tersch or Deutsch, "German,"

and several lakes and bayous in this country, Lac des Allemands, Bayou des Allemands, German Lake, and German Bayou, alone recall this Teutonic settlement; all else has been swallowed up in Creole French.

With these exceptions, there is scarcely an incident in Louisiana history, dating from even long before the advent of the first white man, but has left its imprint upon the geography of the state. The name Attakapas, "cannibals," a somewhat vague term applied to all southern Louisiana, calls attention to the fact that the Indian occupants of this region were cannibals at one time, although the French could never find authentic proof of this. Recent discoveries of Indian remains and of half burnt human bones, in the shell mounds of St. Mary and Terrebonne, have verified the charges made against the Attakapas Indians by their neighbors, and prove them to have been no mere fancy or scandal.

The name of the river which divides Louisiana from Texas, and which stands godfather for several towns, cities, lakes and counties, Sabine river, or anciently the river of the Sabines—the Spaniards called it Rio Adais, after an Indian tribe living on its banks, a name surviving in the village of Adayes, in Natchitoches parish—recalls a story, the precise date of which it is impossible to fix, and of which there are several versions, all very similar. This story, as told by M. de Bosso, somewhat of a romancer and Munchausen, is, that the French, landing on the shores of the Lac de Lobos, became very friendly with the natives. A large party of the savages were taken aboard the French boats, but the Frenchmen, becoming intoxicated, cast the male Indians ashore and made off with the best looking young squaws, from which incident and its resemblance to the story in Roman history entitled "The Rape of the Sabines," the lake and river received their new names.

Just below the city of New Orleans is a bend in the river which has been known as English Turn, *la détour des Anglais*, since long before the French settlement of Louisiana. When Bienville made his first exploring expedition up the Mississippi, in 1699, he met an English vessel of 16 guns in this bend, commanded by a Captain Barr. Barr informed him that he had been sent out by Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, who had obtained immense grants of land in America from the King of England, to sound the Mississippi and survey these lands, after which he was to return and convoy a number of vessels containing settlers for this new colony. Bienville completely hoodwinked the Englishman, convinced him that the river was not the Mississippi, that the French had a strong fort and several settlements above—it was fifteen years before the French had settled on the Mississippi—and persuaded Barr to return to England. In honor of

this ruse, which determined the fate of Louisiana, and made it a French instead of an English colony, the bend became known as English Turn. About the same distance east from New Orleans, near the Rigolets, or entrance into Lake Pontchartrain, is English Lookout, which marks the second attempt of England to occupy Louisiana, being the point where the British expedition against New Orleans in 1814-15 first landed, and whence it made a reconnoissance of the city and its defenses.

Chef Menteur, or "Lying Chief," a bayou only a short distance off, and which connects lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne, gets its name from one of the Choctaw chiefs, who was such a confirmed and incurable liar that his tribe, who worship veracity as the greatest of virtues, banished him to the inhospitable region of swamps and mosquitoes, through which this bayou runs. The name of the lake into which it pours, Lake Borgne, or "One-Eyed," has never been explained. Gayarre, the historian of Louisiana, gives it up, after some discussion, and it remains an unsolved conundrum to this day, unless it alludes to some unknown and prehistoric Indian cyclops who once dwelt upon its shores.

The name borne by the capital of Louisiana and by two of its parishes, Baton Rouge, or Red Stick, is also a relic of the Indian days, being simply a translation of the aboriginal "Istrouma." The location of the town is on the old boundary line between the two hostile tribes of the Bayagoula and Houma Indians, which was marked, some say by an immense red cedar, others by a large stick or picket painted red. Indian names, however, are far less frequent in southern than in northern Louisiana, particularly the northwestern corner of the state, which was retained by the government as a reservation for the Caddo, Coushatta, and other Indian tribes, for many years.

Very few persons would be aware that rapids ever existed in Red River, a short distance from Alexandria, but for the name of the parish in which that town is situated—Rapides. These rapids were of clay or rock, three-quarters of a mile distant from each other, and formed a serious hinderance to the early navigation of the Red. Scarcely a ripple marks their place to-day; they have been gone nearly a century.

Even the prehistoric birds and beasts are recollected in this Louisiana nomenclature. Prairie Mamou, Mammoth Prairie, in St. Landry, recalls the antediluvian days when mastodons, mammoths and other prehistoric animals wandered through the lower delta of the Mississippi. The memory of man fails to recall the days when buffaloes existed in Louisiana, but that they were once numerous there is proved by the Ouachita or Big-buffalo river. Similarly, the name Loutre, or "Otter," as *Passe à Loutre* at the

mouth of the Mississippi, and numerous Bayou Loutres, is still frequent, although the otter has disappeared, while Bayou Castor, "Beaver," recalls another amphibious animal which is becoming very rare. Of the present flora or fauna of the state, not a specimen is missing. We have Bayou Chataignier, French, and the town of Natchitoches, Indian for "chincapin," the town of Plaquemines, "persimmons," Bayou Cypre, "cypress," Chenier, "oak-grove," with Bayous Walnut, Hickory, etc., in profusion. We have the Tchefuncta River, Indian, and Bayou Chevrette, French for "deer"; Bayou Louis, "squirrel"; Bayous L'Ours, "bear", Tigre, "tiger"; Toro, "bull"; Tortu, "turtle"; and Cocodrie, "alligator." Of birds we have Calcasieu Parish, "eagle"; Prairie Faquetaïque, "turkey"; Petite Anse Island, "gosling," and hundreds of others. Not even the insects are forgotten, and one of the most important streams in West Baton Rouge and Iberville is named Maringouin, "mosquito," after that great pest of Louisiana—and not undeservedly named, since the mosquitoes, with their buzz and sting, make life upon its banks almost unendurable. A still more disagreeable entomological specimen stands sponsor for a village in St. Bernard parish, a short distance from New Orleans, and which was formerly something of a watering place before the Mexican Gulf Railroad fell to pieces—La Chinche, or "bed bug," a name sufficient, one would think, to have frightened away any summer excursionists. And this is not the worst name to be found on a map of Louisiana. There are islands, bayous, and even towns, whose names are of the most offensive meaning, but fortunately the obscenity is concealed under some foreign language.

In studying Louisiana geography, however, the stranger must be careful or he will soon become confused between French, Indian and Spanish. Passing through many dominions, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a confusion of tongues, and that an Indian name should become Gallicized or Anglicized. A fair sample of this is shown in a title now become very common and applied to numerous swamps and bayous, as well as to a very unedible fish. The original word was Choupicach, Indian for muddy. The French converted this into Choupique, or cabbage-point; but since the Americans came in, Choupique in its turn has been still further reduced to Shoe-peg.

Far out in the wild pine forests of Catahoula is a large settlement known as Funny Louis, named, one would suppose, after some humorous old backwoodsman. Nothing of the sort. It is pure Choctaw, slightly modified from Funna Louach, "Burnt Squirrel." A short distance off is Bushley's Bayou. It is not named after any deceased Mr. Bushley, and nobody by that name has ever been in that vicinity. It is simply Birchile

Bayou, a Choctaw word for "cut-off," it being a cut-off between two other streams. Then again, Calcasieu sounds very French and looks still more so in the ancient spelling, *Quelquesieurs*, "some men," but after all it is simply the Indian *Kalkousiouk*, or "eagle."

Knight, in his history of London, tells a story of one of the most famous inns of that city, known as the Bag-o'-Nails Inn, whose name was a puzzle to every one until an antiquary had one of the old signs washed and cleaned, when it betrayed the fact that Bag-o'-Nails was simply a corruption of *Bacchanals*. Equally ludicrous misnomers exist by the hundred in Louisiana. The first French governor of the colony is the victim of one of them. One of the passes at the mouth of the Mississippi was named in his honor, *Passe de Sauvolle*. The Creoles wore it down in time to *Passe de Cheval*, "Horse Pass," and many of the later maps have actually so translated it. It might be mentioned, by-the-by, that the early discoverers and explorers of Louisiana have been as badly treated geographically as Columbus. Their names were given to lakes and rivers, but they have all, like *Sauvolle*, been robbed of these honors. The Iberville River has become the *Amite*, *Bienville Island*, *Horn Island*, and the pass named in honor of *Serigny* has dropped that title and become simply *South Pass*, being that particular one in which the jetties are situated and through which all the commerce of New Orleans passes. The name *Serigny* has not been heard for almost a century.

Other mistakes like that of Horse Pass are the change of the *Ouisi* River in *Calcasieu* to "Whisky," *Bogue Chitto*, or "Big Bayou," into *Boggy Chitto*, and *Barbonne* in *Lafayette* to *Barebones*. *Carencro*, in the same parish, is pronounced *Carrion-Crow* by everybody, and so spelt by many. At the mouth of the river is a barren, desolate mud-lump or island called *Garden Island*. No garden has ever been there or ever will be; the true name is *Gordon's Island*, after an ancient bar pilot. *Petit Pois Island*, so named by *Bienville*, is no longer such on any map, being either *Petit Bois*, "Little Wood," simply *Boy's Island*, or *Pea Island*.

Ninety-nine people out of a hundred would declare that the island of *Belle Isle*, rising out of the Gulf marshes—it is no island at all, since it is surrounded by land on all sides—was nothing but "Beautiful Island," instead of being named in honor of *M. de Belle-Isle*, who was shipwrecked there, and remained a prisoner in the hands of the *Attakapas* Indians for many years. Nor is *Grand Gulf* on the Mississippi a gulf, but simply *Grande Golphe*, "Big Whirlpool," for a whirlpool once existed in the river near there. A somewhat similar mistake, which has deceived nearly everybody, gives the name to a town in *Iberville* parish, known as *Bayou Goula*.

Every one naturally believes that it is so called, like Bayou Sara, in West Feliciana, from the bayou or stream on which it is situated ; but it so happens that it is situated on no bayou at all, and ought to be spelt Bayagoula, being named after a powerful Indian tribe that formerly inhabited that portion of the state. Still more absurd is the mistake made by some over-smart fellow, who converted Pass à Loutre into Pass à L'Outre, the apostrophe changing "Otter Pass" into "the Pass of the Beyond;" and yet nine maps out of ten follow this error.

Such are a few of the mistakes that have crowded themselves into Louisiana geography to confuse the student. Nicknames are even more numerous, and there are not a few towns which, like the great Grecian philosopher, Plato, have lost their original titles in these nicknames. This is so of both the towns on the right bank of the Mississippi opposite New Orleans—Gretna and Algiers. The first, which is the seat of justice of Jefferson parish, is now a prosperous manufacturing town, being the largest producer of cotton-seed oil and moss in the world. Half a century ago a single house stood here, where lived a good-natured old Creole justice of the peace, so happily married and such an enthusiast on the subject of matrimony that he would get up out of bed at any hour of the night to marry a couple of young lovers from the city ; thus emulating the celebrated blacksmith of Gretna Green, and giving a nickname to the incipient town. Algiers is now a portion of New Orleans, constituting the fifteenth ward of that city, but nobody knows it by any other name than Algiers. It has its own post-office, its own fire department, and is separated from "the Crescent City" in everything but its municipal government. It is the seat of the dock-yards and boat-building establishments, and has been so for years. Many years ago a leading boat-builder of New Orleans paid a visit to his works across the river. The men were somewhat turbulent and unruly, treated their employer roughly, and finally locked him up in his own warehouse, refusing to release him until he agreed to stand treat for all. He surrendered under protest, denounced his jailers violently, and declared—it was at the time that Decatur was distinguishing himself before "the city of the Deys"—that they were no better than Algerines. "This place deserves to be called Algiers," he declared, "for you are all nothing but a lot of pirates." The nickname stuck, and Algiers it is to this day. Very similar is the story told of a town in Assumption. A hungry and half-famished traveler reached there one evening and asked for something to eat. The people of the town are very poor, being mainly 'Cajans, as the Creoles call the descendants of the Acadians, who came to Louisiana when the English drove them out of Nova Scotia. In the whole town there was not

so much as a loaf of baker's bread to be found, and, disgusted and hungry, the stranger rode on to Napoleonville, a few miles distant. "What is the name of the town down the bayou?" he asked; and when told, he continued: "You ought to change its name and call it Short-bread Town." And so it is called to this day, but in French, "Paincourtville"—they pronounce it Pankerville, all the people of the surrounding country being Creoles.

The custom of particularizing a river or lake as "the river," "the lake," instead of naming it, is common everywhere, and nowhere more so than in a new country. The inhabitants of the Mississippi valley, for instance, never refer to "the father of waters" as the Mississippi. To them it is simply "the river," just as suburban New Yorkers speak of going to "the city" when on their way to Manhattan Island. Descriptive names like these are common throughout this country. Detroit, for instance, is only "the strait" after all. There are no less than three straits, or, as they are generally called in Louisiana, "passes," similarly nameless, or rather which have lost the main portion of their names. The people of Louisiana call the straits which connect lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, "the Rigolets," which means simply "the straits" or "passage." The early explorers forgot to give a name to this place, and simply dotted it down on their map as "*les rigolets où passaient les chaloupes*," "the passage through which the ship's boats passed." Nobody ever took the trouble to baptize this pass, and this descriptive title clings to it. Yet Manchae pass, which unites lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain and Castein, have exactly the same meaning, being Indian words for "the pass." Thus, also, two large cut-offs on the Mississippi river are without any title, as Raccourci and Pointe Coupée cut-offs, the names they bear to-day, mean simply "Cut-off cut-offs." Bayou Lafourche, one of the largest and most important navigable streams in southern Louisiana, has similarly lost half its title, Lafourche meaning only "the branch or fork." In early Louisiana history it figured as "*la Fourche des Chetimacas*," "the fork of the Chetimacas Indians," but the latter half of the name has been lost and almost forgotten.

All these names are pronounced very queerly. It is startling to learn that Natchitoches is Nakitosh, and Tchoupitoulas, Chopitoular. The correct pronunciation of words like these is regarded as a sort of Shibboleth, by which the stranger is immediately detected, for the pronunciation is not based on any principle whatever of either the French or English languages, but rather on the original spellings of the words, which have in the past century or two passed through a dozen variations before they have assumed their present forms. The old names Quefoncte and Quelqueshuh

for Tchefuncta and Calcasieu would be incomprehensible in Louisiana today. The Mississippi itself is a good instance of the variations through which these names have passed. Its original spelling, and the nearest approach to the Algonquin word, "the father of waters," is Mèché Sébè, a spelling still commonly used by the Louisiana Creoles. Tonti suggested Miche Sepe, which is somewhat nearer to the present spelling. Father Laval still further modernized it into Michisipi, which another father, Labatt, softened into Misisipi, the first specimen of the present spelling. The only changes since have been to overload the word with consonants. Marquette added the first and some other explorer the second "s," making it Mississipi, and so it remains in France to this day, with only one "p." The man who added the other has never been discovered, but he must have been an American, for at the time of the purchase of Louisiana the name was generally spelt in the colony with a single "p."

Through all these varieties and forms nearly all Louisiana names have passed. As there was no orthographical authority, no fixed form of spelling, no literature, books or papers, but everybody spelled just as he chose, it is not wonderful that there should be such changes and transformations that the original spelling has been almost completely lost, although the original pronunciation has been very nearly preserved.

Norman McF. Walker

JOHN DICKINSON, LL.D

THE GREAT COLONIAL ESSAYIST

For over a century a cloud has rested upon the memory of this great statesman. A man possessed of rare singleness of purpose and simple integrity of action, could hardly find justice in immediate posterity. The world's history teaches us that to more remote ages is left the tardy task of justifying the acts of the great and good of an earlier time. There are acts of such exceptional purity and honesty that ordinary or contemporary minds find it impossible to reach and grasp and weigh them fairly. They stand high and alone: "All the greater for that loneliness." Such an act was the opposition of John Dickinson to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Hildreth says, "John Dickinson's opposition to the Declaration of Independence was an example of moral courage of which there are few instances in our history."

In a letter to the writer from the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, that gentleman closes by saying, "There can be no shadow of doubt of Mr. Dickinson's purity of motives in taking the course he did. I should be very glad to see justice done to his life and high character." It is for this purpose, in a measure, that this article is prepared.

John Dickinson was born at "Croise-doré," the seat of his father, Judge Samuel Dickinson, near Trappe, Talbot county, Maryland, November 8, 1732. His father is described as "an enlightened and liberal man, extremely desirous of giving his children the best education his means could afford." His mother was Mary Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania, a great granddaughter of Dr. Thomas Wynne, one of Penn's companions in the "Welcome"; the speaker of the first provincial assembly of Pennsylvania, and the first resident physician of Philadelphia. She was the judge's second wife, and survived him many years, dying after the close of the revolution, in Philadelphia. Descended from a race of gentlemen—born to wealth, dignity, and power, the subject of this memoir was a proof that gentle blood and breeding, when combined with intellect, will tell to the uttermost—he wore his honors with an uninflated dignity, as part of himself.* His culture and refinement belonged to his daily life; and were

* John Dickenson, of Leeds, temp. Henry VII., a younger son of the lord of Kenson Manor, Yorkshire, married Elizabeth, granddaughter of Sir Robert Danbie, chief justice court of common

not, like state garments, worn only on public occasions. His father, for twenty years president judge of the court of common pleas, Kent county, Delaware, was a man of strong intellect and liberal views, and gave his children every opportunity for culture that his ample means could obtain. He was so fortunate as to find in his second wife a person not only capable of appreciating his intellect, but of aiding him by her own high mental acquirements. Her beauty and graceful manners made her a delightful companion and hostess and gave an irresistible charm to her intellectual endowments. To their gifted mother, John and Philemon owed, in an eminent degree, their mental development. The proficiency which they attained in every branch of polite learning was a source of intense gratification and delight to both parents. A sketch of Philemon appeared in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, for December, 1881. (Since writing it has been ascertained that he was born at "Croise-doré" and *not* Dore).

When John was eight years of age, his father was commissioned judge, as above stated, and removed his wife and her three sons (John, Thomas, and Philemon), to Dover, Kent County, Delaware. Their tutor was William Killen, subsequently chancellor of Delaware, but then a law student in Judge Dickinson's office. It was Judge Dickinson's original intention to educate all his sons at Oxford, but the sad deaths of his two eldest sons, William and Walter (the first at London, and the second at Oxford), of that terrible scourge, the small-pox, deterred him from sending the others. But for this, John would have been an Oxonian. In 1750 he went to Philadelphia, where he entered the office of John Moland, Esq., an eminent barrister of the colonial bar. His fellow students here were George Read and Samuel Wharton. All three subsequently represented Delaware in the continental congress, and the first two (Dickinson and Read), were framers of the federal constitution and that of Delaware, for 1792.

Early in 1753 young Dickinson, having overcome his father's prejudices or fears, bade adieu to his friends, and sailed for London, to enter

pleas, temp. Edward IV., and had a son, William Dickenson, who settled in Bradley, Staffordshire, in 1525; by Rachael Kinge, William had Richard Dickenson, who, by Eliza Bagnall had Symon Dickenson, who, by Catherine, daughter of Hon. Geoffrey Dudley, 2d son of Edward, 5th Lord Dudley, had three sons, viz.: 1, Edward, of Bradley; 2, William, of Appleton; 3, Charles, of London. Charles, in 1620, married Rachael Carter, and dying in 1633, left: 1, Walter; 2, Henry; 3, John. All three came to Virginia in 1654. Walter, in 1660, settled near Trappee, Talbot county, Maryland, where he died in 1681. By Jane Yarrett, he left William Dickenson; who married Elizabeth Powell, and dying in 1717, left Samuel; who, by his first wife, Judeth Troth, left, in 1760, Henry, to whose present descendant "Croise doré" has passed in lineal descent; by second wife, Mary Cadwalader, Samuel left John, subject of this memoir, and Philemon, a memoir of whom appeared in December No., 1881, of this Magazine.

the Middle Temple. Among his fellow students there were Edward Thurlowe, subsequently lord high chancellor; Lloyd Kenyon, subsequently lord chief justice, king's bench; and William Cowper, the poet. Thurlowe was born the same year as Dickinson; Cowper was a year older; and Kenyon a year younger. Mr. Dickinson also made the acquaintance of a young man, subsequently secretary of state for the colonies during the revolution—John Hill, Earl of Hillsborough. Mr. Dickinson returned to America in 1755, and settling in Philadelphia, was admitted to the bar of that city, famous then, as now, for its legal luminaries. Although brought into competition with such men as Ross, Galloway, Shippen, Tilghman, Chew, and Read, he soon obtained a large and lucrative practice. In July, 1756, he accompanied his uncle, Samuel Morris (husband of his aunt, Hannah Cadwalader), to Easton, and was present at the treaty made there between Pennsylvania and Tedyuscung and other chiefs of the Delawares. In April, 1760, he made his first appearance before the supreme court of Pennsylvania, in the case of Stevens against Pemberton. In October, 1760, he took his seat in the assembly of the three lower counties (now Delaware), from Kent, he being a property owner in that county. He was elected speaker of that body, serving during the session of 1760–61. September 7, 1762, he took his seat in the Pennsylvania assembly, and served during the sessions of 1762–63, '64, and '65; and 1770–71, '72, '73, '74, '75, and '76. The introduction of Mr. Dickinson into the political arena was under peculiarly happy circumstances. The years which so many squander in dissipation, had been devoted by him to close and severe study, and on his first entrance into public life he found himself possessed, in his early manhood, of a knowledge of the laws of his country which usually belongs only to the wisdom which comes with gray hairs. To these advantages were added, an independent character and an ample fortune. We have neither the time nor space to enter into the details of Mr. Dickinson's political career. His first great speech in the assembly was delivered May 24th, 1764, on the question of changing the government of Pennsylvania from proprietary to royal. Joseph Galloway, then a patriot, but subsequently a Tory, replied to it. Both were published; Dickinson's, with a preface by Dr. Smith, Provost of the university of Pennsylvania; and Galloway's, with a preface by Dr. Franklin. May, 1765, appeared his article entitled, "The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America, Considered in a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London." On the 11th of September, 1765, the speaker (Joseph Fox), and Messrs. Dickinson, Bryan, and Morton, were appointed delegates, on behalf of the Pennsylvania assembly, to represent that body

in the general congress of the colonies, held in New York, from the 7th to the 21st of October. Mr. Dickinson was the author of the "resolves" of that body—fifteen in number. November 7, 1765, Mr. Dickinson signed the famous "Non-Importation Resolutions" of the Philadelphia merchants, traders, and business men. In 1766 he opposed the resolution, offered at a meeting of the Philadelphia bar, to conduct business without the use of stamps. Only three votes were recorded in the affirmative. This same year appeared his article entitled, "An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbadoes, Occasioned by a Letter from them to their Agent in London. By a North American."

In 1767 appeared what are considered by many his greatest political writings, viz.: the celebrated "Farmers' Letters." They were published in Philadelphia in 1767; in London in 1768; and in Paris, with a preface by Franklin, in 1769; a Virginia edition was published by Richard Henry Lee in 1769. The citizens of Boston, at a town meeting held at Faneuil Hall, March 14, 1768, appointed Dr. Benjamin Church, John Hancock, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, and John Rowe, Esq., a committee to prepare and publish a letter of thanks, which appeared in the *Boston Gazette* of March 24, 1768. Mr. Dickinson replied in a letter dated Philadelphia, April 11, 1768, and published in the *Gazette*. In May, 1768, the society of Fort St. David, Philadelphia, better known as the "state in Schuylkill," and of which Mr. Dickinson was at one time its president or "governor," as they termed their chief ruler, presented him with an address inclosed in a box of "heart of oak." The inscriptions are in letters of gold. On the top of the lid was represented the cap of liberty on a spear, resting on a cipher of the letters J. D.; underneath the same, on a semicircular label, the words *Pro Patria*; around the whole, the following: "*The gift of the Governor and Society of Fort St. David to the Author of the Farmers' Letters, in grateful testimony to the very eminent services thereby rendered to this country, 1768.*" On the inside of the top were engraved on silver a view of Fort St. David and the following inscription: "*The liberties of the British Colonies in America asserted with Attic eloquence and Roman spirit, by John Dickinson, Esq., barrister at law.*" This relic is now owned by his granddaughter, the venerable Mary Norris Logan, of Philadelphia.

Charles Francis Adams says; "The Farmers' Letters were more practical, minute, and skillful in style and strain, than the writings of either Otis, Adams, or Quincy. They had a much wider circulation, both in the colonies and in Europe." In 1769 Mr. Dickinson visited Boston, with Joseph Reed (then on his way to Europe for the second time); they stopped at Princeton to attend the commencement exercises, and Mr.

Dickinson received from the faculty, through the hands of Witherspoon, the honorary degree of LL.D. While in Boston, Mr. Dickinson made the acquaintance of Samuel Adams, and renewed a former one with James Otis, made at the congress of 1765. In a letter to a friend in 1805, speaking of Mr. Otis, he says, "At this distant period, I have a pleasing recollection of his candor, spirit, patriotism, and philosophy." In the spring of 1770 Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Samuel Adams exchanged letters on the political situation. February 4, 1771, Mr. Dickinson was chairman of the committee of the Pennsylvania assembly appointed to draft a petition to the king for the repeal of the act creating import duties. October 16, 1773, he attended the great mass meeting, held in Independence Hall and Square, to protest against the importation of tea, and was one of the speakers upon that occasion. May 20, 1774, he attended the meeting, held at the City Tavern, to take measures regarding the closing of the port of Boston, but Provost Smith, and *not* he, wrote the letter of the committee of correspondence then appointed, but as a member of said committee, he heartily indorsed it. June 18, 1774, he, with Thomas Willing and Edward Pennington, were joint chairmen of the immense mass meeting, held in the state house yard, to take further measures regarding the Boston port bill, and these three, with Provost Smith, were the committee which recommended the calling of a continental congress. He was a delegate to the provincial convention, held in Carpenters' Hall, from July 15 to 22, 1774, and wrote the two important state papers adopted by that body, viz.: "The Resolves of the Committee of Safety of the Province of Pennsylvania," and the "Instructions of the Committee to their Representatives in the Pennsylvania Assembly." He also published an essay entitled, "An Essay on the Constitutional Powers of Great Britain over the Colonies in America." He was also chairman of a committee of three (himself, with Joseph Reed and Charles Thompson), to communicate these resolutions, and of the famous committee of forty-three, which issued the call for the first continental congress. In September, 1774, he was nominated for speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly, but as he was anxious to be sent to the new congress, he declined, and October 15 he was elected a delegate to the latter body, the journal of which shows the following:

MONDAY, *October 17, 1774.*—"Mr. John Dickinson appeared in congress, as a deputy from the province of Pennsylvania, with these credentials as follows: 'In Assembly, October 15, 1774, A. M. Upon motion by Mr. Ross, ordered, that John Dickinson, Esqr., be, and he hereby is, added to the Committee of Deputies appointed by the late Assembly of the Province to attend the General Congress, now sitting in the city of Philadelphia, on

American Grievances.' The same being approved, Mr. Dickinson took his seat."

October 21st.—The committee appointed to prepare an address to the king, reported a draft, which was recommitted, and Mr. Dickinson was added to the committee. At the request of his fellow-members, he drew up a new draft, which was reported, and adopted by congress October 25th. This was the famous "First Petition to the King," which, in conjunction with the "Address to the People of Great Britain," by Mr. Jay, drew forth the fine eulogy from lord Chatham so often quoted. Chief Justice Marshall gave R. H. Lee the credit of this paper, but subsequently corrected his error. Patrick Henry drew up the draft that was rejected. October 26, 1774, Mr. Dickinson penned the famous "Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec."

January 23, 1775.—Mr. Dickinson took his seat in the provincial convention of Pennsylvania, called to ratify the work of the first continental congress. They remained in session until the 28th. April 24, 1775, he attended the great meeting, held in the state house yard, at which it was estimated eight thousand persons were present, when it was resolved to defend "Our lives, liberties, and properties, by a resort to arms." Several battalions were immediately organized for home defense. Mr. Dickinson was chosen colonel of the First, and George Clymer lieutenant-colonel; John Cadwalader, his first cousin, was chosen colonel of the Third, and his brother-in-law, Samuel Meredith, second major. May 2, 1775, Governor Penn transmitted to the assembly the resolutions of the British parliament facetiously known as "Lord North's Olive Branch"; but headed by Mr. Dickinson, the assembly refused to be caught with any such bait. June 30, 1775, the colonel was elected a member of the newly organized committee or council of safety, in which body he served until July, 1776. For the next year we find Mr. Dickinson serving as a member in three distinct bodies at the same time, viz.: the continental congress, Pennsylvania assembly, and council of safety. In this latter body, he was chairman of the committee on military stores. Early in July, 1775, he penned the famous "Declaration to the Armies," adopted July 6, 1775. Randall claims Jefferson as the author of a portion of it, but Dr. George H. Moore, curator of the Lennox library, read a paper on this subject before the New York Historical Society, at its meeting on Tuesday evening, June 6, 1882, an abstract of which appeared in the July number of this Magazine. Dr. Moore produced the original draft, in Mr. Dickinson's own handwriting, and it was published in his political writings, prepared under his own supervision, as we shall show later on.

In September, 1775, occurred the breach between Colonel Dickinson and John Adams, caused by the publication of an intercepted letter from Mr. Adams to General Warren, by General Gage in *Draper's Newspaper*, and in a greatly exaggerated form. No one, however, who has studied the life of John Adams carefully can for a moment believe him guilty of this grave charge. That he differed radically from Mr. Dickinson on the great question of independence is not to be doubted, and he certainly animadverted severely on the latter's seemingly inconsistent course on that subject. But independence was the one grand idea that burned in the bosom of John Adams from the first day he took his seat in congress, and which burst into a flame, with such grand results to America, in June and July, 1776.

In October, 1875, Mr. Dickinson was chairman of a committee of the Pennsylvania assembly, to which was referred the petition of the committee of defense of Northampton and Northumberland counties, of which his kinsman (by marriage), Samuel Meredith (who owned 50,000 acres in the first and 80,000 acres in the second), was chairman. November 29, 1775, congress appointed Benjamin Harrison, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Johnson, John Dickinson and John Jay a "Committee on Foreign Affairs." They chose Mr. Dickinson chairman. This committee had charge of all foreign correspondence up to 1781, when congress created a "Department of Foreign Affairs." Mr. Dickinson served as chairman of this committee until July, 1776, and was, *ex officio*, our first secretary of state. December 6, 1775, congress appointed Messrs. Dickinson, Jay and Wythe a committee to proceed to Burlington and offer a remonstrance from Congress to the New Jersey assembly (still under royal control) for having, in November, granted the usual annual supplies to the Tory governor (Franklin). Mr. Dickinson, as chairman, delivered an able address before the assembly on the 9th of December. In April, 1776, Mr. Dickinson was re-appointed chairman of the foreign committee. In May, 1776, he was chairman of a committee of the Pennsylvania assembly to draft new instructions to their delegates in congress. As their author, he introduced a clause forbidding them to vote in favor of independence, on the ground of its being premature. June 11, 1776, congress appointed Messrs. Bartlette, of New Hampshire; S. Adams, of Massachusetts; Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Sherman, of Connecticut; R. R. Livingstone, of New York; Witherspoon, of New Jersey; Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; McKean, of Delaware; Stone, of Maryland; Nelson, of Virginia; Hewes, of North Carolina; E. Rutledge, of South Carolina, and Gwinette, of Georgia, a committee to draft articles of confederation. They reported them to congress July 12th, but they

were not finally adopted until November 15, 1777, and not ratified by all the States until March 1, 1781, the date of their adoption by Maryland. We were governed by them until March 4, 1789. June 12, 1776, Messrs. Dickinson, Franklin, J. Adams, Harrison, and R. Morris, were appointed a "committee to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign powers." This was distinct from the regular committee. Messrs. Dickinson, Franklin and Harrison were members of both, and Mr. Dickinson was chairman of both. This same month Mr. Dickinson drafted the second petition to the king. Ramsay, in his "History of the American Revolution," says, "These several addresses (to the people of Ireland, the assembly of Jamaica, etc.) were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies, but their 'Petition to the King' (second), which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favor of the American cause than any other of their productions. This was, in a great measure, carried through congress by Mr. Dickinson." Of Mr. Dickinson's opposition to the Declaration of Independence, we can only say that he was actuated by the highest and most patriotic motives. He opposed it solely on the ground that it was premature, that the colonies were hardly yet in a position to take such a measure, and the disastrous defeat of the Americans at "Long Island," "White Plains," and "Fort Washington," and the retreat through the Jerseys proved the correctness of his position. But when the die was cast, no man in America gave the cause a heartier support. It has been erroneously stated by more than one writer, that when the vote on the question of independence was taken, Mr. Dickinson voted no. But the fact is, that both he and Robert Morris absented themselves purposely on that day, by which means the vote of Pennsylvania was recorded in the affirmative. Neither was Mr. Dickinson present when it was first offered for the signatures of its members, July 20th; he accompanied his regiment to Elizabeth, New Jersey, and did not return until September 1st.

If, during the exciting days of the revolution, the cautious course of Mr. Dickinson was misconstrued, and made him temporarily unpopular, the calmer judgment of posterity has more than justified him. A careful study of his life and character cannot fail to show the honesty and integrity of his motives; and we cannot fail to discriminate between a vote against independence as premature, and one in hostility to that great measure. The very heat and fervor of the moment prevented his contemporaries from being his impartial judges. Mr. Jefferson himself, in summing up the debates, bears testimony that all the arguments were against independence as premature, but *not* against the measure *itself*.

September 3d, 1776, Colonels Dickinson and Cadwalader (John) were appointed special justices of the peace for Philadelphia. September 23d, 1776, he was appointed deputy attorney-general for Pennsylvania to try the famous Ross case. In January, 1777, the legislature of Delaware elected him a delegate to congress from that state, but he was forced to decline on account of the poor condition of his health. On the 11th of September, 1777, occurred the battle of Brandywine. Mr. Dickinson served on that memorable day as a private in Captain Lewis's company of Cæsar Rodney's Delaware brigade. It is a noteworthy fact, that John Dickinson was the only member of the congress that *adopted* the "Declaration of Independence" that ever saw service *in the field*!

September 25th, Acting President McKean appointed him senior brigadier-general of the Delaware militia, an office he resigned in December following. On the 22d of November, 1777, the British burnt his mansion, "Fairhill." All the books of his valuable library not destroyed by fire were subsequently given to Dickinson College, Carlisle.

In January, 1779, Delaware again sent him to congress, and on the 5th of May he signed the articles of confederation on her behalf. This month he penned the last of those famous state papers; it was entitled "An Address to the States," and urged the confederacy to respond promptly to the call for men and money. In June he was elected a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, serving until 1791. In October he was elected Vice-President of the Delaware state council, and at the same time the Governor of Pennsylvania appointed him chief justice of the high court of appeals for that state. In October, 1781, he was elected president or governor of Delaware, serving until November, 1782. November 4, 1782, he took his seat in the Pennsylvania state council, and on the 7th of the same month was elected governor of that state by a vote of 41 to 32 for General James Potter. His official title was "Captain-general and commander-in-chief in and over the commonwealth of Pennsylvania." During his term of office he occupied the "Government Mansion House," on Chestnut street. His salary was £1,250 (\$6,250) per annum, and the use of the house.

Early in 1783, Governor Dickinson, in conjunction with Benjamin Rush, James Ewing, Henry Hill, James Wilson and William Bingham, agitated the subject of founding a college in commemoration of the successful closing of the war with England.

From the style of language used in the charter, we should infer that it was the work of the governor himself; certain it is that he was largely instrumental in pushing its passage, and to further its success he subscribed the munificent sum of £5,000 specie toward the endowment fund. The

legislature very justly named the new college after the governor; and thus is the name of the most illustrious writer of his day forever perpetuated within the borders of the state he loved and served so well. The college obtained its charter September 3, 1783, and was located at Carlisle, in Cumberland county. Governor Dickinson was president of the board of trustees from 1783 until his death. Through his influence and that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Alexander Nesbitt, D.D., a Scotch divine of great learning and ability, was induced to accept the office of president of the faculty. One of its graduates, James Buchanan, rose to the presidency. This same year Governor Dickinson was elected an honorary member of the General Society of the Cincinnati. He was the fourth person so honored, and the first from Pennsylvania.

Governor Dickinson's term expired October 17, 1785. His last appearance in council was October 10. He was succeeded by the venerable Franklin, then in his eightieth year—the grandest specimen of a patriot and self-made man America ever produced. In June, 1786, Delaware appointed Governor Dickinson one of the commissioners on her behalf to attend the Annapolis convention. He was chosen chairman of that body. They recommended the calling of a general convention of the states, with more extended powers, and accordingly congress called such a body to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday of May, 1787. Mr. Dickinson appeared as a delegate from Delaware, and largely participated in the debates. He is the acknowledged author of the system of electing United States senators, as appears by the following: "Mr. Dickinson moved that the members of the second branch [senate] ought to be chosen by the individual legislatures; Mr. Roger Sherman seconded the motion."—*Madison Papers*, Vol. II., page 812. He also insisted that each state should be equally represented in the senate.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II., page 863. Mr. Dickinson's name was signed to the new constitution by Mr. George Read, at his request. He wrote nine very able letters in behalf of the work of the convention. They were signed "Fabius," and were almost as much admired as the "Federalist." In 1792, Mr. Dickinson was a delegate to the Delaware constitutional convention, and, as might be expected, exerted an overshadowing influence. In 1795, he and Caesar Rodney were the chief speakers at an indignation meeting held at Wilmington, to denounce the treaty just negotiated between Great Britain and the United States by John Jay, November 19, 1794. Similar meetings were held at Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. In 1797 he wrote fourteen letters under the signature of "Fabius," on the unhappy relations then existing between this country and its old ally, France. In 1801, his polit-

ical writings were published in two volumes by Bonsal and Niles, at Wilmington. Mr. Dickinson, in a letter to his kinsman, Dr. George Logan, of Philadelphia, under date of September 5, 1804, forever sets at rest all question as to the authorship of *all*, and every *part* of all the papers therein published. Says he, "In the year 1800 two young printers applied to obtain my consent to publish my political writings, from which they expected to derive some emoluments. I gave my consent, and in the following year [1801] they published, in this place, two octavo volumes, as my political writings. This publication being made in the town where I resided, no person of understanding can doubt that I must be acquainted with the contents. Of course, I must be guilty of the greatest insincerity, if, for any credit, I knowingly permitted writings which I had never composed, to be publicly imputed to me, without a public and positive contradiction of the imputation. This contradiction I never have made, and never shall make, conscious as I am that every one of those writings were made by me." In March, 1802, Governor Dickinson sold the "Fairhill estate," 300 acres, to his brother, General Philemon Dickinson, and removed from Philadelphia to Wilmington, for good, where he died on Wednesday, February 14, 1708 (St. Valentine's Day), aged 75 years, 3 months, 6 days. He was buried in the "Friends' Burying Ground." No stone marks his grave. Congress wore mourning for him thirty days. Governor Dickinson was one of the founders of the Democratic party, and a warm friend of its first president, Jefferson, who was eleven years his junior. In writing to him, Jefferson always styles him "My dear and ancient friend." The following glowing tribute was paid to Governor Dickinson by the orator of the day, at the anniversary of Fort St. David, held in May, 1824. Said he: "This shadow, rather than man; slender as a reed; pale as ashes; this great writer, has been suffered to elapse almost into oblivion. Yet it was in him God first lighted the fires of the revolution; his words first made the cause of the colonies heard before the throne of Great Britain; and it is his name, and his only, that is associated with Jefferson's as the writer of the first official assertion of grievances [declaration to the armies] that preceded the great 'Declaration' [Independence]. His words were the battle cries of the revolution; on these grounds they gave evidence of their power. Although gentle blood ran through the veins of the peaceful inmates of Fort St. David, and their meats were set before them on heraldic plates, and the flag of English George floated o'er their house, yet Dickinson's words swept through its hewn logs like a storm. The flag went down; they answered his appeal with the sword. Here he might be fitly honored, as

he was in his day and generation. The historic troop [First City Cavalry], four of whom have been governors in Schuylkill [presidents of Fort St. David] and the bar of Philadelphia, of which he was so worthy a representative, might unite and place upon these grounds his monumental stone; and the words once written in his honor might well be graven thereon: 'Pro Patria, John Dickinson, of the city of Philadelphia, author of the Farmers' Letters. *Ita quique eveniat, ut de republica meruit.*'"

Only two original portraits of Mr. Dickinson are known to exist. The earliest is by Charles Wilson Peale, and was painted in 1770, the year of his marriage. It hangs in Independence Hall. The other one was painted by Trumbull for his great picture, the "Signing of the Declaration." Who is the present possessor of this we know not. Two copies of this are in existence. One hangs in the governor's room at Harrisburg, and the other in the parlor of his great nephew, the writer of this article. Mr. Dickinson married July 19, 1770, Mary, daughter of Hon. Isaac Norris, Jr., speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly. Two daughters survived him, Sarah Norris Dickinson, the last owner of the famous "Slate Roof House," and Maria, wife of A. C. Logan, Esq. Said Governor Dickinson to a friend: "Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest, to which I have continually adhered, and still design to adhere. First, upon all occasions, when I am called upon as a trustee of my countrymen to deliberate on questions important to their happiness, disclaiming all personal advantages to be derived from a suppression of my real sentiments, and defying all dangers to be risked by a declaration of them,—openly to avow them; and secondly, after thus discharging this duty, whenever the public resolutions are taken, to regard them, though opposite to my opinions, as sacred, because they lead to public measures in which the common weal is interested; and to join in supporting them as earnestly as if my voice had been given for them. If the present day is too warm for me to be calmly judged, I can credit my country for justice, some years hence."

John Dickinson

150th Anniversary of John Dickinson's birth.

A NATIONAL HEIRLOOM,
AND SOME DETAILS AS TO ITS ORIGIN

The recent celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Society of the Cincinnati suggests an interest in an old paper connected with the origin



ORIGINAL ORDER.

of its medal. This waif strayed back, some years since, from the place of its execution in the last century to slumber, appreciated, but inarticulate, in a private historical collection. It may be recollected that the period has arrived, in every civilized nation, when even the smallest relic connected with its origin has found appreciation in collection and preservation. While the form of governments, and the customs and habits of their people, have often changed, the accepted facts of their history have survived,

but always a subject for elucidation, by even the most humble additions of authentic material.

It would appear, then, that any details as to a matter of public interest once borne inside of, or upon, the breasts of Washington and his associate founders of our own, should, if reliably submitted, interest every competent mind amongst the, perhaps, fifty millions of people who are now united to enjoy the results of their patriotic conceptions and personal sacrifices in their consummation. To the posterity of those founders each new fact elicited is but adding a missing link in the chain of an honorable succession, which they would appear especially intrusted to value and protect.

It was doubtless the appreciation of such services, and of the importance of their continued recognition, even through visible emblems, that induced Mr. Loubat to recently collect, in two sumptuous quartos—with illustrations executed with artistic accuracy—the *Medallic History of the United States of America*. In this good work he searched diligently in two continents for every accessible detail—including such modest sources as those here referred to—for the originals and all details of execution of the medals struck by order of Congress. That this was timely, a single instance—the discovery of one unique and valuable die, utilized as a paper weight in an office—illustrated. If it had been treated by chance as old metal, the series which now represents our nationality in the libraries of the world side by side with those of older countries, could not have been completed. They have for ages preserved their records of public events or of service rewarded, while perpetuating in them the progress of metallic art. The preservation of even a single copy of such a work has often notably survived all other memory of the one who assumed the labor and outlay of perpetuating the acts of others. Perhaps such works may have missed the general cotemporary recognition of those less familiar with their value than the author, or more attracted by subjects of personal interest of the moment. The casual investigation which circumstances have allowed has failed to discover such information as to M. Duval, the artist hereinafter referred to. The position he is known to have held and the graceful workmanship with which he achieved, confirms the judgment of his selection, and suggests the reflection whether some lexicographers may not have recorded less meritorious subjects with more favor. Perhaps wider research, best near the field of his labor, would be more successful. Time, enlightened by cross reading, often becomes a Nemesis, noting in accepted records, even of the noblest life, where fickle Fame has remained unduly silent, or has sounded too loud a blast!

At a meeting of the Society, held on the 19th of June, 1783, in a region on the Hudson now historical as its birthplace, surrounded by the scenes of many conflicts, and of that of the grander conquest of self which attended the peaceful separation of an unpaid and suffering army, the presiding officer, the good old Baron Steuben, an adopted citizen of New York, submitted a letter in French from Major Peter Charles L'Enfant, of the Continental Engineers, which suggested the details for the medal, and was printed in the Society's Historical Résumé, in 1851. It inclosed a design, and other suggestions, which were accepted with a resolution of thanks "for his care and ingenuity," and also for his offer of further assistance, and a request for the continuance of his zeal and attention in carrying it into effect.

The eventful career of Major L'Enfant commands passing notice. He emigrated from France at the age of twenty-two, to give his practical aid to the cause of freedom, and secured all that he came to seek in a commission as an officer of engineers, for which he was fitted by education. He joined the army at once, and saw much service in both the Northern and Southern campaigns. With General Lincoln in 1779, at the siege of Savannah, he performed the notable feat of leading five men to the base of the wooden abattis under heavy fire and applying combustibles. He was severely wounded while then a captain, and promoted to a brevet major in 1783. The accompanying paper shows him in Paris, and still in service, in the next year. In 1789 he restored the old City Hall in Wall street (where Washington was inaugurated) with a large outlay, involving the city in debt and subscriptions, in a period of financial distress, yet so satisfactorily as to receive the thanks of the corporation, the freedom of the city, and the gift of ten acres of the public land "near Provost lane"; which he politely declined,—with the sentiment of Lafayette!

On the 26th of January, 1801, perhaps prompted in part by such embarrassments as this paper discloses, he applied for a sum of money in place of the land, since of vast value. The authorities offered him \$750, which he refused. He was the author of the original plan of the City of Washington. Cotemporary criticism called attention to its value by attributing his inspirations to those of Sir Christopher Wren, when restoring London after "the great fire" in 1666! Whatever his just share in its conception or execution, the visitor to the capital cannot fail to recognize the debt the country owes him, for aiding to create upon an unpromising site so grand a work, in what is now one of the most attractive cities of the world. It is to be hoped that both the city and the medal on which

L'Enfant labored may long survive—the one as a center for new patriotism, the other as an evidence of its earlier appreciation. In any event, the wide research of Dr. Lossing, which could have been happily extended to Duval, further discloses in the "Popular Encyclopædia" that, after declining the professorship of engineering at West Point in 1812, he went to rest, from a life of varied experiences, in Prince George county, Maryland, on the fourteenth of June, 1825. Whether he left any posterity to supplement his useful adoption as a citizen, is not known. He seemed to be free from the imputation of having "died and left no sign." The following paper as to the details of the execution and delivery of the medal, is a "resurgam" in telling to posterity of forgotten services.

I acknowledge to have received from Monsieur Duval, Engraver upon Metals, the eagles of the Order of Cincinnati of which I entrusted to him the execution in the name of the General Society of Cincinnati, which said eagles amount to the number of forty one, at the price agreed upon of four Louis each, making the sum of 3936, on which I have advanced to Monsieur Duval sixty Louis in gold on account, and engage in the name of the Society to pay him the balance of the sum in the course of the month of July next. And for greater security I engage myself personally for the amount of the above sum to guarantee the payment on the part of the Society.

Done at Paris the 5th of May 1784

L'ENFANT

Major of Engineers, in the Service of the United States, Deputy of the
Army of America, and Chargé des Affaires of the Cincinnati.

Received from Monsieur L'Enfant, the son, by the hands of Monsieur his father, the sum of 62.10 for the first six months of arrearage on this note, commencing on the 1st day of July 1785. This day 25th January, 1786.

DUVAL

I the undersigned acknowledge to have received from Madame the widow d'Enfant in acquittance for her son Monsieur L'Enfant two thousand four hundred and eighty six livres for the remaining and complete payment by that party of the note on the other side, and for causes and purposes substitute in my right and place the said Sieur L'Enfant to reimburse himself for the whole amount of that note. For which, and all that pertains to it, substitution is made without any guarantee on my part at Paris, this fourth day of February seventeen hundred and ninety one—le 1791.

DUVAL

Gold Medallist & Engraver by the King's Privilege

In careful reading in translating this paper, the delay of the promised payment, the intervention of "Monsieur son père" with the interest, and that of "Madame la Veuve," six years later with all arrearages, suggested, with his own succession to the head of an honorable house, apparent neglect in the administration of a public trust by the gallant "Sieur" L'Enfant, and a blot upon his spotless record as sought to be delineated. Fortunately, a singular coincidence helped at once to corroborate the value of the preservation of historical papers, claimed by specialists, to remove one more "historical doubt," and so to "point a moral and adorn a tale."

After this voluntary contribution was apparently completed, and accepted by the editor of the Magazine, a letter important to its object attracted her attention while examining some historical Van Cortlandt manuscripts at the home of one of the family. An appreciation of its value here at once secured a copy. It will be seen that it arises to protect L'Enfant's memory from even a doubt. To show the difficulty attending General Van Cortlandt's official collections from reasons hereafter alluded to, the fact of the Major's continued advances and his personal inconvenience from that cause. It discloses "Madame la Veuve" as temporarily, at least, a benefactress to the Society, although the names connected with its management gave assurance against any eventual loss. It also suggests that poor M. Duval may have considered, in the years of delay, however caused, to which he was subjected, that he also was possibly to become a benefactor, in decorating a society with which he had only a technical connection. Other papers in the possession of the Society might explain this delay more fully, but are unnecessary to show that any intended neglect was possible.

NEW YORK 8^{ber} the 17th 1786.

SIR

Having expected that you should have paid attention to the circumstance which I mentioned to you of my being under necessity of collecting a sum of money before the 15th of this month, I have found myself much embarrassed, as I had to honor an engagement contracted from a reliance upon the 156 dollars owed me for the Cincinnati badges presented to the elected members on the 4th of July last, which sum I expected to have received long before, as I depended upon your diligence in fulfilling the intentions of this States' Society, who directed you to collect the same.

Your not having been in town when I sent to remember you of your promise, & the obligation I was under has forced me to borrow a sum which I must now return and for which I beg you will, Sir, let me have *one hundred dollars*, if not more—that part of the sum due being the much easier for you to collect from such of those members as are residing in this city I request you will favor me of it as immediately as possible

Should any apprehension prevent you from advancing that sum to the Society, I will

answer for the consequences & shall consider it as my debt to you—as none but the most urgent necessity can induce me to trouble you with this request. I rely on your brotherly concern &

am, Sir, with great respect

Your most humble & obedient Servant

P C L'ENFANT

Please send your answer No 19 Maiden lane.

B Gen Courtlandt

Treasurer of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati &c

It will be noticed that the first of these papers refers to the medals of the General Society, the other to that of New York. Both disclose the wolf at the door, and the existence of such scarcity of means and the unavoidable temporary delay in meeting the most sacred obligations as many have witnessed in such periods of business reverses as those of 1836, 1847, and 1873, of a larger compass but not so lasting and comparatively severe in form. Who was responsible for these delays becomes unimportant from the knowledge of the general cause and of their subsequent honorable fulfillment. The utility of referring to them now may be as fairly questioned as readily answered. It is like a tentatory excavation at the side of the strong foundations of a fabric looked up to and honored for a century, to examine the rude strength of the material and the difficulty of its procurement and adaptation by those who "builded better than" they "knew." The preliminary work had evidently been accomplished by men assembled around the camp fire, or shoulder to shoulder and knee to knee, in trying counter-marches or frequent conflict. It had been contemplated and made natural to the officers surrounding Washington when leading an army, of which it had been reliably recorded "that one half of them were without breeches, shoes and stockings, and several thousand of them were without blankets," crowded in huts, sleeping three under one of these blankets and relying on contact for warmth. When the one purchasing commissary had written "that he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than 25 barrels of flour, and could not tell when to expect any." In its consummation an initiation fee of one month's pay—then three months in arrear—*when received*, was secured by an order on the Paymaster General, *when he arrived*, and the dues and fines, with the expense of some one hundred dollars for a medal, were all assumed by men who had experienced the gradual depreciation of the purchasing power of Continental money from seventy-five hundred dollars of the issue for one hundred in gold, until two years before, in 1781, its value had ceased. It seems a large undertaking for patriots who had

already contributed so much, and a display of Roman virtue fitly covered by the name and mantle of Cincinnatus. With personal grievances and arms in their hands freed from discipline, and with the ever present tempter suggesting their power to carve out compensation and empire for themselves, their thus leaving as their last associated action a bond of fellowship as simple citizens, and assuming a considerable future outlay, appears to be a noble evidence of love of their country and negation of self. This action was contemporaneously recorded in "The Institution of the Society," printed by Samuel Loudon, in New York, in 1784.

The idea then asserted, of an intention by the Society to perpetuate an hereditary aristocracy, did not originate with and was unjust to those soldiers. It was a fitter subject for political manipulation by men who had enjoyed while others achieved. One of these arguments written in a pamphlet—then the common medium for discussion—entitled, "Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati lately instituted * * * proving that it creates a race of hereditary patricians or nobility; by *Cassius*, and printed by Robert Bell, in Phila., in 1783," is now interesting as a literary curiosity. It shows how, with flowery quotations in Latin, and vehement assertions in English, a writer may argue to misconceive the result of a noble intention. A modest suggestion of authorship on the cover, inducing a reference to the "Congressional Directory," shows that the writer had migrated into a Southern State two years after L'Enfant's coming, and that he had (in the absence of most of its distinguished bar on the battle fields or in the service of the republic), in two more years, become an "Honorable," and had attained a judgeship with a competent salary, and sufficient leisure to disparage the intentions of those who had assumed to struggle for what he was allowed to enjoy on a comfortable bench.* This was followed, in the same year, and from the same press, by "Observations on a late Pamphlet By an Obscure Individual." In lieu of a suggestion of authorship on its cover, is an extract from Thomson's "Liberty:"

"Heroes arose who (scorning coward self) *for others lived,*
Toiled *for their ease,* and *for their safety bled.*"

In its perusal, and their comparison, one discerns between the lines

* At that time, when the country was unsettled, and citizenship undefined, such a publication attracted much notice, and might have been read by even careful Washington with concern. Now, with a century's experience, it would be at once discerned by reading its fine writing, that this "*Cassius*" also "had a lean and hungry look," and may have been apprehensive of some gallant soldier returning to "hang his laurels" on "his garden gate," and to succeed to his judgeship and overshadow his honors. Now, at least, "There is no terror, *Cassius*, in your threats."

that the writer of the last is probably a soldier, and one who needed no new creation as "a patrician and a nobleman," by a freer construction of the intent of the certificate and medal of the Cincinnati.

Now that it has become exceptional not to be a knight of some order, masonic, social, or military, we can easily discern the causelessness of the apprehensions of those who had neglected to secure by service the only decoration then existing. The armies brought in service in the late civil war, in both sections, are perpetuated by Orders, and the decoration on the breasts also of those who have won them in the triumphs of peace, are too common to attract even marked attention.

The order of the Cincinnati, then, by seniority alone, has a continued importance as formed by the sponsors at the cradle of the great country in which all of these are now esteemed by their several members, but time and the restrictions of its organization are thinning its effective force. Might it not be practicable, as in the case of the "Loyal Legion," which perpetuates later military service, to recruit its numbers and extend its influence by the organization of a second class, but without control of its management, to be composed of any of the descendants of the officers of the revolution who can substantiate their claim and recorded service? With its ranks recruited from the many who are proud of their descent from the men who achieved the foundation of what all now enjoy, a powerful and agreeable organization might be formed of those with many common sentiments, including that of duty, to cherish and protect what was won by the original members and their associates.

Bailey Rogers

LAFAYETTE'S TOUR IN 1824

Lafayette's final visit to the United States, in 1824-25, was in two aspects most remarkable. A venerated hero returned, after an absence of nearly fifty years, to see our prosperous nation enjoying in peace the independence in whose cause, when last he stood on this soil, his sword was drawn. And this hero was himself a foreign nobleman; one who in youth had so generously given of his treasures and his blood to the American people as to seem an American by adoption, and yet became afterward identified, in the prime of manhood, with the cause of liberty in his own native land, as the conspicuous, perhaps the only, revolutionary leader of France of those times, whose record left nothing to blush for. A guest like this no nation was ever likely to entertain a second time. The splendor of Lafayette's later reputation in the old hemisphere heightened his earlier renown in the new. His whole life had been consecrated to the cause of liberty and human rights. Republicanism itself was ennobled when one so illustrious could be claimed as friend and father.

No wonder, then, that on Lafayette's return to the United States, after so long an absence, the heart of this whole people was poured out in salutation. To use Clay's felicitous expression, it seemed a realization of that vain wish that the patriot-father might revisit his country after death, and contemplate the intermediate changes which time had wrought. But that figure of speech was inadequate; for the man who now revisited America, and stood in the midst of posterity, was not like the risen dead, but rather as some long-absent champion, who, leaving America free, had gone out to liberate new worlds; there had been no grave, no oblivion, to close over the patriot in this instance, but the bond of sympathy which united this people and their benefactor had remained constantly unbroken. Seas had divided, but absence made hearts fonder.

The season of his arrival was most propitious for thus pledging anew this most precious of international friendships. Our *second* war with Great Britain had in its happy termination secured a permanent confidence at home and abroad in American institutions, and divorced the United States forever from Europe. Under the long and eminently prudent administration of Monroe, now drawing to its peaceful close, our people enjoyed a constantly growing prosperity. What they remembered of dangers past,

served most of all to endear the recollections of the great founders of this republic, their sufferings and sacrifices. The memories of '76 were peculiarly tender; battle monuments had been planned and liberal provision made for aged survivors of the revolutionary struggle. Children refused to nourish the old party feuds of their parents; we had ceased to be partisans of England or France; in politics we were all Americans and republicans. Those leading spirits of the late momentous half century of war, hatred and bloodshed were disappearing. George III. and Bonaparte had recently died, within a few months of one another. The few survivors of American independence who lingered on the scene inspired reverence, but they had ceased to participate actively in affairs. Monroe was of necessity the last president of the United States identified with the revolutionary epoch. And Lafayette himself, once the young companion of Washington, had now become the sole surviving general officer of Washington's immortal army.

In honoring Lafayette thus publicly our government appears to have irritated, willingly enough, though not purposely, the Bourbon family, who once more (for a brief spell, as events proved), occupied the throne of France. Congress, at the same session, in fact, which opened with that celebrated presidential message announcing what has since been styled the "Monroe doctrine," passed its resolution of February 4, 1824, complimentary to Lafayette, which, in view of his intended visit, authorized a national ship to bring him over. Our new minister to France, James Brown, bore to Lafayette almost simultaneously an autograph letter from the president which made a like offer, and assured the marquis of the sincere attachment of the whole American nation and their ardent desire to see him once more in the United States. Monroe's timely protest against any further extension of Europe's political systems to the American continent, had meantime, in connection with England's disfavor, operated to check the scheme which France and the "Holy Alliance" meditated, at the fall of Cadiz, for subjugating the Spanish-American republics and restoring the rule of royalty. Loyal to the principles he had always maintained, Lafayette had of late incurred the resentment of Louis XVIII. by speeches opposing the government policy in the French chamber of deputies. A corrupt ministry now succeeded in removing him from the national representation, and Lafayette was left free to accept his invitation to America. While offering no constraint upon his movements, either in departing or returning, the French government, nevertheless, by means of its police and gendarmes, checked the public expressions of love and gratitude which Lafayette's fellow-countrymen would eagerly have rendered.

Lafayette's star had risen and sunk repeatedly with the vicissitudes of France, and the time now approached when, the Bourbons finally dethroned, this veteran soldier of freedom would once more be worthily trusted by his countrymen. But in the meantime, and while in temporary disgrace, the opportunity was offered for visiting the United States, and accordingly Lafayette came.

I shall not attempt to set forth the narrative of Lafayette's memorable tour. The main incidents of the journey are well preserved in the published journal of Levasseur, Lafayette's private secretary, and in American newspapers of the day, particularly *Niles's Register*. Quincy, in his *Figures of the Past*, well describes Lafayette's visits to Boston. The hero traversed every state and every section of this union, and wherever he went, he was welcomed with love and respect. His health and his spirits improved almost constantly, and but one accident, and that hardly a serious one, as to personal consequences—the sinking of a steamboat on the Ohio—interrupted the progress of the nation's guest.

What I wish to state in these papers, are some historical facts connected with Lafayette's tour, which are not generally known, and which I have gathered from some unpublished correspondence, chiefly among the Monroe and Gouverneur manuscripts.

The general impression has been that Lafayette's visit to the United States was mutually intended for his pleasure and the public gratification, and for no more. This view, however, is not strictly correct. True, there was no special political significance attached to the tour, though this idea some Frenchmen entertained at the time, imagining that some plan of conquest was on foot in which he was to bear a part. True, too, that Lafayette's long cherished wish to revisit the scenes of his youthful exploits had of late been constantly reciprocated by the American press and his private American correspondents. But in the present instance our administration was tacitly pledged to bestow upon the last of the illustrious revolutionary leaders some tangible proof of the public gratitude, such as, it was well understood, he had good reason to demand. Lafayette was far from affluent at this time, and the loss of royal favor involved a private sacrifice to one of his rank. He, a stranger to these colonies, and owing us nothing, had in our hour of peril voluntarily expended from his own means, sacrificed his ease, shed his blood, and risked his life in our service. As a revolutionary officer, he was entitled to public lands; and having, in fact, received a specific grant from congress at the annexation of Louisiana, the location made by his agent in that territory near New Orleans proved recently to be in conflict with

some earlier grants. Respecting that claim, Lafayette appears to have been in correspondence with Edward Livingston, who had recently been elected to congress from Louisiana, and understood the embarrassments which had arisen. Hence, President Monroe, and men prominent in influence with his administration, becoming acquainted with Lafayette's pecuniary affairs, encouraged him in his half formed purpose of coming to this country, at the same time treating the claimant with the utmost delicacy.

The greatest delicacy was shown in all the arrangements prepared for Lafayette. And thus was it that returning to America in the modest expectation of, perhaps, honorable attentions, he found at once, on his first landing in New York, a whole community's gratitude to be his welcome. Where, indeed, could one better be than in the bosom of a family like this? So astonished was he, so overcome, to find a great demonstration made for him where he had expected to land quietly and engage private lodgings, that his eyes flowed with tears, and violently pressing both hands to his heart, he exclaimed, "It will burst!" But the same public demonstrations which greeted Lafayette on his arrival at New York were exhibited wherever else he went.

In the course of some fourteen months he traversed the whole country, visiting every state in the Union and all the leading cities, and received everywhere the same sincere token of reverence and affection, though the characteristic expression might differ. The nation's guest was felt to be the people's friend. With chief magistrates, national, state, and civic, to perform the honors on their own behalf, the great body of American citizens themselves constituted his host. They took Lafayette into their own keeping, carried him from place to place, and feasted and applauded him as long as he would remain. The wish, expressed on many a public occasion, and cheered, was that he would become at length an American citizen and end his days here. When at last he re-embarked for France, the round of hospitalities had been by no means exhausted, and many invitations were necessarily declined.

The tacit pledge of congress, that the honor paid Lafayette should not be an empty one, was not forgotten. By an act approved on the 28th of December, 1824, the sum of \$200,000 was voted him, together with a township of land, to be located on any of the unappropriated public lands, in consideration of his services and sacrifices in the war of the revolution. This munificent grant readily passed both houses by a vote nearly unanimous. A joint committee waited upon him with a copy of the act, asking him in behalf of congress to permit this partial discharge of the national obligation. Taken by surprise as he was by this munificent donation,

Lafayette could but accept it under the circumstances. Not only did the voice of the nation sustain congress in its generous action, but several of the states, Virginia, New York, and Maryland, for instance, would have added their own largess, had not Lafayette himself repressed their generosity.

If Lafayette's appearance somewhat surprised, he did not long disappoint the spectator. He presented a fine, portly figure, nearly six feet high; his weight of years was lightly worn, and his only apparent infirmity was a slight lameness, resulting from his old wound at Brandywine. That lithe, graceful youth, with elastic step and joyous face, whose bronze image is passed by New Yorkers of the present day in Union square, had, indeed, vanished; yet, Lafayette's appearance astonished by its vigorous contrast with those bent and gray-haired veterans who saluted him as their compatriot. This was partly the effect of French art; though more was owing to Lafayette's French vivacity and perennial good nature. Looking closely upon his face, one saw traces of his sufferings; and Quincy tells us that the brown wig which set low on his forehead, concealing some of his wrinkles, did yeoman's service to one who rode so constantly in an open carriage, bowing with uncovered head. The old Indian chief Red Jacket, who had been with Lafayette in 1784, frankly expressed his amazement that time should have left the general so fresh a countenance and so hairy a scalp.

We must remember, too, that Lafayette's American renown came to him remarkably early in life. He was scarcely twenty years of age when he bore to Washington a major-general's commission, which congress had conferred upon a titled foreigner only as a mark of honorary distinction, but which soon became the credentials of his active service.

What, one may inquire, were the strongest impressions produced upon Lafayette himself by this American visit, so impressive to his American hosts? Of these, some indications are to be found in Lafayette's correspondence with American friends after his return home, as also in memorials of the tour which others have preserved. Lafayette himself appears never to have summed up the results of his experience here, nor could he have been expected to do so. That he was both delighted and surprised with the constant enthusiasm of his reception cannot be doubted. These honors from the land of his early exploits were substantial honors too. For himself, personally, it was a memorable episode in an eventful life; a relief from oppressive cares; a vacation tour during which old age reveled among the scenes and recollections of a well-spent youth, and where he could forget the vexations and responsibilities of official station. Here he

was truly a benefactor; a successful philanthropist; a father visiting a distant son, well established in his own home.

Lafayette was at heart a consistent republican, and a man of liberal principles, sympathizing fully with our political institutions. The nature of our government he had long intelligently comprehended. But as a Frenchman, and with reference to preserving firmly the essential liberties of his own countrymen, he believed that a constitutional monarchy was the form of government best adapted to the present wants of France. Of the sincerity of that belief, already demonstrated on behalf of one occasion, he was to give a last proof soon after his return. Hence American institutions afforded Lafayette, at this time, no occasion for minute study, for the bent of his mind was practical, and for his generation, at least, France had done with experiments of self-government. Holding these views, Lafayette nevertheless carried a heart whose generous emotions had not been stifled by the hard vicissitudes of experience, and though himself of aristocratic rank, he felt a personal interest in mankind as brothers. The example of the American republic seemed precious in his estimation, beyond any immediate reckoning. "Perpetual union among the United States," was his toast on one occasion: "it has saved us in our times of danger; it will save the world."

Gratitude to America for its own gratitude was doubtless the feeling predominant on this tour. Next, the rapid development of the American nation, under its constitutional government, doubtless impressed him: the immense extension of our territorial area since the revolutionary war; the three-fold increase of population; the rapid development of the west; the original number of the states nearly doubled. Here, too, he saw that every one had his pursuit in life, so that many who accosted him seemed to wonder how a French nobleman supported himself. More than once he observed chief rulers and high dignitaries traveling without peculiar distinction; a high cabinet officer preparing his bed upon the saloon floor of a crowded steamboat; the governor of a state pulling in a skiff to help unload a sunken vessel; statesmen often seeming to receive social honors as secondary to private citizens. The only time during his tour that Lafayette's carriage was stopped for a toll, was once when he rode with the president of the United States. But the universal respect for law and order moved him to admiration. It seemed as if the largest crowds that gathered to honor his approach had resolved not to disgrace American institutions in the eyes of their fraternal guest. Lafayette's entrance into Philadelphia caused not the slightest disturbance of the peace; though its population of 120,000 souls was augmented by 40,000 strangers, who came to partici-

pate in the rejoicings. Multitudes huzzaed that day in the streets as the procession passed, and multitudes at night walked the streets for miles to witness the illuminations; and yet there was found no need of increasing the police, nor, as the mayor announced, was a single complaint reported the next morning.

As a Frenchman and a guest, however, Lafayette was less likely to draw such political comparisons than to comment upon what our general humanity inculcates.

Two suggestions which he made in a fatherly way from this latter standpoint deserve our chief remembrance. They related to prison reform and negro emancipation, and were addressed frankly to those immediately responsible for existing systems, and capable of changing them.

Visiting Philadelphia, where he was shown a new and commodious prison, nearly finished, on the plan of solitary confinement, a mode of punishment which Pennsylvania had within twenty years adopted in its fullest extent, Lafayette, recalling his personal experience, observed that solitary confinement was a punishment which might lead to madness, and by no means, in his own case, at least, had caused a reformation of opinions.

So, too, did the sincerity of Lafayette's convictions on the subject of human slavery force him to commend its abolition, whenever a word of judicious counsel might aid the cause. The rapid development of New York, where traces of its former existence were now fast disappearing, he placed in sad contrast with the condition of other Atlantic states where the evil still remained. His heart was pained by the exhibitions of human bondage which he witnessed at the south just after his northern tour. And as he found opportunity, while in Virginia, he discussed the delicate problem, and especially when visiting the ex-presidents, Jefferson and Madison, never failing on his part to defend the right which all men, without exception, have to liberty. Most Virginians with whom Lafayette thus conversed treated his suggestions with entire courtesy; they frankly condemned the principle of slavery; and though citing strong objections to a general and immediate emancipation, appeared ready to rid themselves of the curse, could only some feasible method be shown.

For that ancient state of proud revolutionary traditions and illustrious leaders, Lafayette undoubtedly felt a peculiar tenderness, with perhaps a pang of disappointment at its present condition. There reposed the ashes of his paternal friend and exemplar: Jefferson, too, who died soon after his visit to Monticello, was a beloved compatriot. The later

survivors of the famous Virginian trio, Madison and Monroe, were, and continued after his return to France, Lafayette's cherished correspondents.

Hearing in later years that Monroe had been struggling with poverty, after retiring from public station, Lafayette generously offered his purse; but Monroe, with a delicate sense of honor, refused to be thus relieved.

There is an autograph letter, probably never published, which the writer has been permitted to read, written from Paris in 1829, in that neat, angular, half-feminine hand, so characteristic of Frenchmen, one of the last ever penned by Lafayette to his Virginia friends. This letter was written in view of the approaching Virginia convention of that year, and was addressed to an ex-president of the United States who presided at that convention. It contains Lafayette's final appeal for bringing Virginia into the sisterhood of free states. "Oh! how proud and elated I would feel," he writes, "if something could be contrived in your convention whereby Virginia, who was the first to petition against the slave trade and afterwards to forbid it, and who has published the first declaration of rights, would take an exalted situation among the promoters of measures tending first to ameliorate, then gradually to abolish, the slave mode of labor." Happily might the Old Dominion preserve that letter in a golden frame had she followed his disinterested advice.

James Schouler.

A BENDING OAK

WASHINGTON TO MRS. STOCKTON

The accompanying letter of Washington to the accomplished widow of Richard Stockton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from New Jersey—a martyr to its consummation, and necessarily an object for our veneration—is preserved by her descendants. A copy of it has been kindly furnished to the Magazine, at the request of a friend, by that one of them who has supplemented his great-grandfather's public position in the Senate of the United States. It appears to be very interesting, and in a style differing from that of most of his letters preserved, and from time to time presented to the public in various forms. The "Washington Number" of the Magazine containing many secured from unpublished originals in the possession of families, or appreciative collectors, by John Austin Stevens, was not the least important result of this really profitable mining amongst the buried treasures of the past. The terms in which appreciation is here expressed, in keeping with those of the subject, at once recall the style of the *Spectator* and the courtly parlance of Sir Charles Grandison, as then at times still available, and account for their substitution here for the ordinary simplicity of those of the patriot and soldier. They suggest the qualities of the accomplished gentleman, in complimenting Mrs. Stockton upon one of her productions—a pastoral poem—in which the merit of Washington and of his lady are discussed in Bucolic phrase, by two ladies under the pseudonyms of "Lucinda and Amista." The discovery of "the piece," doubtless somewhere surviving, would be another interesting renaissance.

That Richard Stockton, celebrated in his day for his ability and acquirements—which the collection of the largest library in the colony, as it was claimed, in a way explains—indulged also in his hours of relaxation in this flowery mode of expression, is evidenced by a letter written when in Europe in 1766, to his wife. It portrays the characteristics of the writer, and the charms of the home from which he was soon drawn by public duty to suffer in loathsome confinement in the prison-house in New York, with the felon Cunningham as his host, and to early death as its consequence. It is one of the few relics of the devastation of his estate, and was thoughtfully fac-similed for Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet's exhaustive collection of

Americana. In it he says: "I have had a perfect state of health since I left you, blessed be God Almighty, and let me tell you that all the Elegance and Grandeur I have yet seen in these Kingdoms in different families where I have been received, serves but to increase the pleasure I have for some years enjoyed in my Domestick connections. I see not a sensible, obliging, tender wife, but the Image of my dear Emelia, (her pseudonym) is full in view. I see not a haughty, ignorant, imperious dame, but I rejoice that the partner of my life is so much her opposite. But why need I talk so gallantly? You know me long ago, as well as you would should I write a volume on this endearing topic." * Can experience fail to discern the domestic history of two worthy lives in these few lines, rising in mutual appreciation far above the less lasting surroundings of the marked prosperity that they then enjoyed?

VIATOR.

THE LETTER

MOUNT VERNON, Feb. 18th, 1784.

DEAR MADAM

The intemperate weather and very great care which the Post Riders take of themselves prevented your letter of the 4th of last month from reaching my hands till the 10th of this. I was then in the very act of setting off on a visit to my aged mother, from whence I am just returned. These reasons, I beg leave to offer, as an apology for my silence until now.

It would be a pity indeed, my dear madam, if the muses should be restrained in you; it is only to be regretted that the hero of your poetical talents is not more deserving their lays:—I cannot, however from motives of false delicacy (because I happen to be the principal character in your Pastoral) withhold my encomiums on the performance—for I think the easy, simple and beautiful strains with which the dialogue is supported, does great justice to your genius; and will not only secure Lucinda and Amista from wits and critics, but draw from them, however unwillingly, their highest plaudits; if they can relish the praises that are given, as they must admire the manner of bestowing them.

Mrs. Washington, equally sensible with myself, of the honor you have done her, joins me in most affectionate compliments to yourself, the young ladies and gentlemen of your family.

With sentiments of esteem, regard and respect I have the honor to be Dr. Madam

MRS STOCKTON.

Y^r most obed^t & most H^{ble} serv^t

GO WASHINGTON

* This letter was recently referred to in "Some Tracings from the Footprints of Sir John Johnson and his Contemporaries," contributed by Theodorus Bailey Myers to Mr. William L. Stone's "Orderly Book of Sir John," accompanied by a biographical sketch by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster. It was used in a sketch illustrating the parallel misfortunes of Mr. Stockton and the subject in sustaining antipodal views.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Unpublished letter of Baron de Steuben, relative to the Cincinnati; unpublished letter of Governor George Clinton, with the original document to which it refers, dated September 30, 1783; and interesting correspondence between Lafayette and Gen. Joseph Bloomfield, of New Jersey.

Printed, by permission, from the Papers of Gen. Philip Van Cortlandt.

BARON DE STEUBEN TO GENERAL VAN CORTLANDT.

NEW YORK, *March 16, 1789.*

Sir:

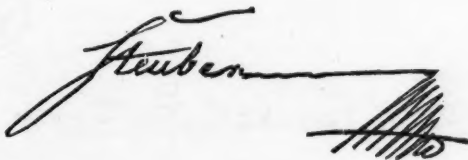
The New York Society of the Cincinnati are exceedingly anxious to know the state of their funds, in order that some efficient plan may be adopted for their increase and appropriation, for charitable purposes. In consequence thereof I now enclose you an extract of the minutes of the Society, requesting you to attend the committee appointed to examine your accounts while acting as treasurer. I make no doubt you will cheerfully acquiesce in this measure.

I am,

Sir,

With great respect and esteem,

Your most obed^t humble serv^t

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Steuben', followed by a series of diagonal hatching strokes.

Sir

Poughkeepsie Nov^r 13th 1783

It is with great Pleasure I enclose
you a Commission by which you are to rank as
Brigadier General in the Army of the United
States of America: Also those for the Gentlemen
of the Regiment lately commanded by you,
except those for Lieut Col Wick & three others
who are in this Neighborhood which will
be delivered to them here.

I am with great Respect & Esteem
Sir Your most Obed^t Serv^t

Geo. Clinton

Brig^r General Cortlandt.

IN PURSUANCE

Of an ACT of

CONGRESS

Of the Thirtieth Day of SEPTEMBER,
A. D. 1783,

Philip Cortlandt Esquire
is to Rank as a Brigadier General — by Brevet,
in the A. R. M. of the UNITED STATES
of A. M. P. 5.



GIVEN under my Hand,
at Princeton the Tenth
Day of October 1783

Lincoln *Chas Bondwell Presid*

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LAFAYETTE AND BLOOMFIELD

In 1822, Lafayette wrote to Isaac Cox Barnet, United States Consul at Paris, saying :

"You have reminded me of times, circumstances, and names ever gratifying to my recollection. Col. (Aaron) Ogden and his regiment have been my beloved companions in war, particularly a picked company of Light Infantry, under Captain Ogden, the Colonel's brother, who shared with me the most interesting toils of the Revolutionary war. I enclose a letter to my old brother officer, General Bloomfield."

GEN. JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD.

My Dear Sir :

LA GRANGE, August 28, 1822.

I avail myself of the opportunity offered by Mr. Barnet, to remind you of an old brother soldier, who finds in his own heart a right of reciprocity upon your affectionate remembrance. Our patriotic toils and friendly union in the army have been to me a happy time, the dear recollection of which fills me with sentiments of love and regret for our departed companions, and of the tenderest attachment for those who survive. I am sure, my dear General, you will with affection receive these lines and sympathize in my feelings. Let me hear from you. Remember me to your old comrades, and believe me forever,

Your constant friend,

LAFAYETTE.

BLOOMFIELD'S REPLY.

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, November 20, 1822.

Most sincerely my dear Marquis do I reciprocate the affection and attachment expressed by you, in your highly esteemed favor of 28 August.

It is very interesting indeed to call to remembrance our brother soldiers & events of the Revolutionary war which etchieved the Independence of our American Republic—but—Washington is no more !—and 4-5ths of his veterans have ceased to live ! They are, however, when brought to recollection, not the less dear to our memory.

Philip Van Cortlandt, Col. of the 2nd New York reg^t is now the senior officer of the Continental army—for no officer is now living who commanded him except Major General Lafayette, and who in fact is the only surviving General-officer of the Continental army who served under General Washington.

Permit me to offer, for your acceptance, a copy of a publication relative to the Society of the Cincinnati in which are the names of the officers of the New Jersey line, which composed the New Jersey Brigade, and of which Brigade but 13 are alive !

It is impossible for me to add to the high respect and esteem with which I am

Your devoted friend,

JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD.

NOTES

GENESIS OF CHARLESTON, S. C.— Mayor William A. Courtenay, in his brilliant historical address on the occasion of Charleston's centennial celebration, August 13, 1883, after presenting in brief continuity sketches of the early settlements on the Ashley, the topography of the embryo city, the sources of its population, the earliest industries and commerce of the inhabitants, and the closing scenes in the revolutionary war, said: "As we stand here looking back over the track of the wonderful century closing for us, to-day, what an illimitable field of thought and reflection opens before us! What great events, wonderful inventions and progress in the useful arts, we may enumerate! The history of Watt and the steam engine, of Whitney and the cotton-gin, of Hargrave and Arkwright in the manufacture of cotton, of Fulton and steam navigation, of Lucas and the rice-mill, of Stephenson and the locomotive, of Morse and the telegraph, of Field and the Atlantic cable, and of the Michigan telegraph boy, to whom 'God lent so divine a vision that' he has seen and measured and has harnessed to our service the subtlest forces of nature, and we look on in wonder, as at Edison's command dumb matter speaks the word that died away weeks ago upon the empty air, and falls upon the ear again *with a living voice*. This, then, is the century upon whose wonderful stream of progress and performance our city was commissioned to act her part. Let us scan the record of the hundred years, and tell some portion of Charleston's first century of municipal life. The act

of General Assembly which incorporated Charleston, Aug. 13, 1783, was from the pen of him whose name stands first upon the Roll of Intendants (Richard Hutson), and the memorial tablet you this day unveil could record no worthier name in our city's history. The mention of it calls up the lawyer, soldier, legislator, chancellor, who, the better to aid his country in her arduous struggle for liberty, passed from the possession of large wealth to indigence and poverty. Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney said of him that he knew of no single citizen to whom Carolina was more indebted for active zeal and perpetual sacrifices in her behalf, bearing even a severe captivity in a prison ship at St. Augustine with uncomplaining patience and fidelity to the end. It should make us feel prouder of our city that this true citizen in war should have had full recognition when peace was proclaimed, and should have been awarded the first place in the city government at the first election. In this new station he had to deal with many turbulent spirits, intent to disturb the peace of society: the natural sequence of war. South Carolina, too, was not unmindful of Richard Hutson, calling him with John Rutledge and John Mathews to the bench in 1784, as one of the three first chancellors. We enjoy the freedom he gave his all to secure. We do well to carve his name first on the snow-white Centennial marble that his name and example may be perpetuated to coming generations."

CLOTHING IN 1783.—Apropos of McMasters' account of American fash-

ions and materials of dress in 1784, as described in his "History of the People of the United States," the following is from the Boston *Independent Ledger*, October 27, 1783. Some of these dry goods are unknown to this age.

"To be sold by William Donnison, at his shop, the corner of Winter Street, a beautiful Assortment of best English Broad Cloths, Coatings, Plains, Flannel, Kerseymere, Camblets, Cambleteens, Moreens, Lastings, Sattinets, Prunella, Velvets, Plushes, Hairbines, Cotton Sattinets, Sattin Beavers, Shalloons, Durants, Tammies, Rich Florentines, &c., &c."

"Hairbines" is unknown to lexicographers.

"For the Ladies, A beautiful and elegant Assortment of Millinery is to be sold at the shop, North Corner of Court Street, Consisting of Caps for Ladies and Misses, Gauze Skirts, Aprons, Hats, Cloaks, Bell Hoops, and Silver Gauze. Also Ostrich Feathers, Sattin and others, Shoes, Fans, Ribbons, Plumes, and Chimney Liners with Tassells."

HORACE E. HAYDEN.

SWEETNESS LONG DRAWN OUT.—The *Evening Post* of June 21, 1808, contains a notice of the marriage at Washington of George Hudson to Miss Seraphina Maria Caroline Matilda Sophia Ann Mansfield.

MINTO.

AN INDIAN CHIEF ON INDIAN POLICY.—Dr. P. E. Jones, chief of the Indian tribe, Mississagua, an educated physician, in a recent letter to Col. William L. Stone, writes: "My tribe is now considered the most educated, civilized, and indus-

trious Indians in Canada, largely due to the indefatigable labors of my father, under whose instrumentality they were converted from paganism, educated, and civilized. No doubt the wise policy of the Canadian government has had much to do with our prosperity, but even that was chiefly through the advice of my father, who was in the confidence of the rulers. He was the author, as you know, of several works upon Indians, and had translated most of the Bible and Wesley's hymns into the language of his tribe. He spent his lifetime in the work of benefiting his people; and as I have taken his place in the management of the affairs of my tribe, I have the advantage of his experience. In regard to the Indian policy of the United States government, I think a system similar to that of Canada is the only salvation for the Indian tribes. Instead of a four years' term with irregularities and frauds, and with agents who are disposed to make all the money possible for themselves in that short period, it should be a life appointment. The Canadian agents are thus chosen, and from the best educated (usually aristocratic members of society); and no matter what the changes in Canadian politics they remain the representatives of the Queen amongst her Indian subjects. Consequently they hold council, carry out or make treaties without fear or prejudice, and meet the Indians with a certain amount of pomp and circumstance which has great influence in inspiring reverence for the 'Great Mother,' and obedience to her laws."

HOW BUSINESS MATTERS WERE MANAGED SIXTY YEARS AGO AND MORE.—

BY AN OCTOGENARIAN.—The schooner *Selby*, Captain John Selby, sailed from New York for Nantes, July 2, 1815, and I was on board as supercargo. Our cargo of cotton was to furnish funds for a return cargo of silks and other goods to be purchased in Paris. The last news from France was that Napoleon was in Paris marshaling his forces to meet the allied armies. We had favorable winds, and in twenty days were in the Bay of Biscay, which we found swarming with British cruisers. Supposing there might be a blockade, we wished to avoid being spoken. We were chased by three British frigates, and the shot from one of them nearly reached us; but we outsailed them. One of the frigates continued the chase until the next morning, when we found ourselves almost as far south as Bordeaux, and near the coast. Sailing north, in sight of land, we were surprised to see the Bourbon flag flying. The mystery was explained by the pilot, who informed us of the battle of Waterloo, which had been fought six weeks before. Napoleon at this time (July 26th) was on board the *Bellerophon*, off the English coast. The day following the captain and I landed at Painbœuf, where at our breakfast a crowd of beggars gathered before the door and could be dispersed only by throwing a handful of *sous* among them.

The most rapid traveling then was with the *courier*, and I rode with him two days and three nights. The road all the way to Paris was guarded by Prussian troops, and wherever my passport had to be shown to the French authorities it was examined also by the

Prussian commandants. Paris seemed to be alive with officers and soldiers of different nations, and on the ninth of August the Russian Emperor, Alexander I, reviewed his troops on the *boulevards*. It was said they numbered fifty thousand. I had a good view of the Czar, an uncommonly fine-looking man. He had fewer decorations on his person than some of his officers, and his horse was not so richly caparisoned as theirs. In the cavalcade there were the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Wellington, the Prince of Orange, and other notables. I saw at another time the veteran Blücher exercising his soldiers.

My business in Paris was completed in twelve days, and a ride of three days and two nights with the *courier* brought me to Nantes. We sailed from Painbœuf August 21, and on the 23d of September, when near the Jersey shore, encountered the terrific and memorable gale which did so much damage at sea and along our coast. We were in great peril, but were mercifully preserved. In the afternoon we had a fine fair wind, and in the evening anchored at Sandy Hook. The next day was the Sabbath. The morning was lovely, and with a fresh southerly breeze we sailed up the beautiful bay and harbor of New York, and I stepped on the wharf just as the bells were ringing for church. The dreadful storm of the day before, "amid the roaring of the sea," and the events of the past twelve weeks—how different from the solemn and delightful services in the house of the Lord! And thus ended my first visit abroad, when I was nearly twenty-one.—HENRY HILL.

QUERIES

MOLLY PITCHER.—On the Fourth of July, 1876, the people of Carlisle, Pa., witnessed the unvailing of a monument over the grave of Mrs. Hays, who, it is claimed, was the traditional *Molly Pitcher* who figured at the battle of Monmouth. Mrs. Hays' maiden name was Mary Ludwig; she was a German, and died in January, 1832. The account of her in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. III, 109, conflicts, in many respects, with early accounts of that heroine. One historian states that the story is founded on fact. Can any of your readers give an authentic account of Molly and her real name; also where the story first appeared in print? * † *

ALLEGHANY, PA.

QUERY.—Who wrote these lines descriptive of young American womanhood, comparing her—

To the sweet moon on the horizon's verge—
A thought matured but not uttered,
A conception warm and glowing not yet embodied.
The rich halo which precedes the rising sun;
The rosy down which bespeaks the ripening peach—
A flower, a flower which is not quite
A flower, yet is no more a bud?

WARD MCALLISTER

AUG. 3, 1883,

Union Club,
Fifth av. cor 21st st.

THE SITE OF AN OLD FORT.—At the south end of Lake George, and at the east end of the Fort William Henry Hotel, are the remains of a fort—a bas-

tion, a deep ditch, a well, and the foundation of a large stone building. To what fort did these belong? Fort William Henry, we are told, was of wood. The building I refer to was evidently of stone. In a map published in the fourth volume of *Bancroft's History of the United States* two forts are laid down at Lake George—Fort William Henry and the English intrenchment, the latter being to the southeast of the former. I have always understood, too, that the hotel stands on the site of the old fort. I should be glad of any information on this point. CALDWELL

AUG. 4, 1883.

PETER FORCE.—Looking over *Stephens' Philadelphia Directory for 1796*, I find the following: "Force, Peter, shoemaker, 35 Coates' Alley." Is this the father of Peter Force, the compiler and editor of the *American Archives*? * † *

ALLEGHANY, PA.

DOCTOR GUSTAVUS BROWN.—Sparks, in his *Life of Washington*, describing the last illness of the President, says: "Another messenger was dispatched for Dr. Brown, who resided near Mount Vernon." This was Dr. Gustavus Brown, of Port Tobacco, Md., 1748, graduate University of Edinburgh, M. D., and died 1804. Did he live at Port Tobacco, or on the Virginia side of the Potomac, at the time of Washington's death? Can any one give more facts of his history than a specialist has given in his *Medical Biography*? Dr. B. was grandson of Dr. Gustavus Brown

of Scotland, born 1689, and came to Maryland, 1708. Married Frances, daughter of Gerard Fowke of Maryland, who died 1744: he died 1765; was distinguished in his day as a physician. Can any one give the name of his only

son, who was the father of Dr. Brown of 1748-1804? Any date concerning these gentlemen or their descendants will be acceptable. See *Mead's Old Churches, etc., of Virginia*.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

REPLIES

CANADA [x. 72].—In the "Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise avec Notes et Appendices, par I. A. Cuoq, Prêtre de Saint-Sulpice (Montréal, I. Chapleau & Fils)," I find the following definition:

"KANATA: Ville, village, bourg, bourgade, camp, campement de plusieurs, groupe de tentes. De là le nom de Canada auquel on a voulu, tout récemment encore, mais toujours sans fondement solide, assigner une toute autre étymologie."

The following curious passage is from a paper entitled "L'Amérique et les Portugais," contributed by Señor Luciano Cordeiro, professor at the Institute of Coimbra, to the first Congrès des Americanistes, and printed in the *Compte-rendu* of the proceedings at Nancy in 1875:

"Canada, est un terme Portugais en usage au XV^e siècle, et encore aujourd'hui, dans les fies pour désigner un chemin étroit ou plutôt un chemin bordé de murs, ou tracé dans un lieu désert et inconnu. Les Portugais, ayant remonté le fleuve Saint-Laurent, soit qu'ils se persuadassent que c'était un canal par où ils pourraient passer en Orient (et Ramusio dit que quelques-uns le croyaient un bras de mer), soit à cause de sa configuration, lui auraient donné ce nom que les Français, obéissant au caractère de leur langue, prononcent Canadâ,

en appuyant sur la dernière syllable. Cette idée a déjà été émise par un écrivain Portugais, et elle semble acceptable. Je rapporterai aussi, mais à titre de simple curiosité, un autre fait qui expliquerait d'une manière différente ce mot de Canada. En 1439 ou en 1440, Denis Fernandes, navigateur portugais, découvrit en Afrique un grand fleuve qui fut nommé *Çanagd*, nom qui s'étendit à la terre environnante (Sénégal), et près duquel on fit construire une forteresse en 1470. On croyait pouvoir arriver par ce fleuve et par l'intérieur des terres jusqu'à Preste Jean, et parvenir à trouver la route de l'Inde, idée qui donna lieu à différentes tentatives. L'embouchure de ce fleuve était nommée par les naturels Sonedech suivant Goes, Ovedech suivant Barros, et Quedec suivant Emmanuel Correia. Ce ne serait peut-être pas une hypothèse trop aventurée que celle qui tendrait à faire croire que les Portugais, en trouvant le fleuve Saint-Laurent, auraient cru qu'ils pourraient par là trouver la route de l'Inde, c'est-à-dire passer à l'ouest, et que cette idée et quelque analogie géographique leur auraient rappelé le *Çanagd* découvert depuis peu. On doit remarquer que c'est au Saint-Laurent et au confluent du Seguenai, que Cartier semble avoir recueilli le mot *Canada* en 1539. Et par

une association d'idées, le confluent du Saint-Laurent et d'un autre fleuve aurait pu leur rappeler le Quedec ou l'Ovedec Africain et avoir donné lieu à cette dénomination de Quebec qui fut donnée à ce lieu et que porte aujourd'hui la ville élevée sur ce fleuve." J. R.

MONTREAL.

THE WANDERING PIPER [ix. 239].—"The Wandering Piper" is the lion of the day, and the good people of our city are all agog to see him. He has been piping up and down our streets for the last two days, exciting the curiosity of all classes of our citizens, and drawing a large crowd of boys and grown up children constantly about him. He is rather an intelligent-looking man, a little above middling stature, wears a Scotch plaid coat and trousers, a cloth cap, and green spectacles, and he plays on the Scotch bagpipe very sweetly. The story which the papers tell about him is very romantic and curious. They say he is a person of fortune, and has been many years an officer in the British army. He assumed his wandering vocation in consequence of a dispute between himself and Count Bendor, a French nobleman, as to the hospitality of different nations, which resulted in a bet of £5,000 between the parties, both to travel in disguise, our hero as a piper in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, and his opponent as a fiddler in France and Belgium. He will make a visit to most of the populous cities and towns in this country, and return to England next fall, when the wager will be decided. The principal parts of his receipts he distributes to the poor, taking vouchers therefor to be exhibited at the expiration of his cruise.

The one to whom the most is voluntarily given is the winner. He leaves most if not all the money he receives in the towns and cities where he collects it for the benefit of charitable institutions or persons in distressed circumstances. This circumstance undoubtedly increases his collections very considerably. His receipts in this place on Thursday, being fourteen dollars and forty cents, he paid over to the treasurer of the Portland Wood Society.—*Portland Courier*, May 25, 1833. W. K.

MILITARY MUSIC OF THE REVOLUTION [x. 161].—It appears by a letter from Major Thomas Proctor to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, dated July 24, 1776, published in *Pa. Archives*, Vol. V., p. 52, that viols formed part of his band.

* † *

VOYAGES OF WAYMOUTH [x. 143].—"Mr. DeCosta replies to Mr. Bancroft's letter published in the June number of the Magazine (ix., 459) defending the accuracy of the early chapters of his history, one of the points in dispute being the matter which has recently occupied the attention of the Maine Historical Society, touching the river discovered by Waymouth, in 1605. This was at first supposed to be the Penobscot. When this supposition was found to be untenable, the Kennebec was adopted, and Mr. DeCosta adheres to that opinion. Mr. Bancroft, however, finds that the St. George river corresponds best to the indications in Strachey's narrative, and that is the conclusion of most of the members of the Maine Historical Society after visiting the ground, book in hand, and comparing the two theories."—*Portland Advertiser*, Aug. 6, 1883.

SOCIETIES

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular monthly meeting was held on the evening of August 6, at Hodgson Hall, the President, General Henry R. Jackson, presiding. The Secretary read the minutes of the June and July meetings, which, after amendment, were confirmed. In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, Captain Robert Falligant, the Librarian, Mr. William Harden, presented the application of Mr. Frederick C. Pierce, of Rockford, Ill., for admission to the society as corresponding member. The application was referred for vouchers. A communication was also read from the Librarian of the Johns Hopkins University, asking for the donation to the University library of the society publications.

The Librarian, in behalf of the society, acknowledged the receipt from Master Charles R. Warren, son of Col. J. L. Warren, of an ancient and curious bill of lading, dated July, 1773, of which the following is a copy:

"Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well Conditioned By Simeon Smith of Rhodes island, Merchant in and upon the good sloop called the Sally, whereof is Marster under God for this present voyage George Arnold of the above mentioned town, Mariner, and Now Riding at anchor in the Port of Gaspee and By God's grace bound for Rhode Island, to say two hundred and twenty quintels of Dry Codfish and Ten Bariels of Pickled Ditto, and four bariels of oil, and are to be Delivered in Like Good order at the aforesaid Port of Rhode island, and Dangers of the Sea and English unto said Marster there or

to his Assigns; he or they Paying freight for the said goods as costumary.

"In witness whereof the Marster of the sloop hath affirmed to this Bill of Lading, and so God send the good sloop to her Desired Port in safety. AMEN.

Dated in Gaspee July 28th A D 1773

"GEORGE ARNOLD"

THE BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held their August meeting in the Athenæum at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Prof. Perry, the newly elected president, presided, opening with an appropriate address. He urged the members to interest themselves in the preparation of a history of Berkshire county, made up of papers from persons in different parts of the county, who are willing to hunt up the facts about the towns, and after reading the papers before the society, have them revised and incorporated into a book. William E. Collins of Hartford, a senior in Williams College, read a paper on "Arnold's Expedition up the Kennebec in 1775." He spoke briefly of the manner in which the 1100 men were raised, many of whom were from western Massachusetts, and of how the expedition started up the Kennebec mostly on foot, as it was impossible to go through the region with horses. The army was preceded by eight or ten men as pioneers, who marked the trees along the way which the army was to follow. Mr. Collins spoke of the superior talents of Arnold as a general, and the wonderful control he had over his men, who suffered many hardships from exposure and hunger, even being obliged to kill and eat their pet dogs.

BOOK NOTICES

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THURLOW

WEED.—Edited by his daughter, HARRIET A. WEED. 8vo. pp. 657. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Few persons of intelligence will open the *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* without an intense desire to peruse the beautiful volume from its first page to its last. It is not only the story of a remarkable life, but the vivid picture of the development of a great State. It is not the whole history of the last three-fourths of a century; but no historian who concerns himself with the political events of that period can present a truthful account of the rise and fall of parties and their policies who is unfamiliar with the extraordinary rôle—to some extent clandestine—filled by Mr. Weed. He was the manager—dictator, rather—of politics and politicians to a degree never before reached in this or any other country, his iron will being the law, not only to the rank and file, but to the recognized chiefs of his party. It would be difficult to exaggerate the power he wielded, both in State and national affairs, for several decades. This was due to his generous sympathies, inflexible good faith, and unaffected readiness to sacrifice himself, quite as much perhaps as to his tact, discretion, dexterity of judgment, and facility for reading the characters of men. His career must ever prove a source of suggestive and instructive study; and he takes the reader into his confidence in such a frank, easy, and charming manner, that the book is a fascinating companion for an idle hour. The magnetism of the great political magnate, which touched all classes, illumines the pages of his *Autobiography*, in which, indeed, he makes no effort to conceal his own faults and foibles, and records his defeats with smiling unconcern. His boyhood and early journalistic training occupy one hundred or more well rounded pages. In 1826, he first became the editor of a daily paper. A large portion of the volume is devoted to an account of the Masonic agitation in connection with the disappearance of William Morgan, which materially affected national as well as State politics. In 1830, Mr. Weed was chosen to the editorship of the *Albany Evening Journal*, in the conduct of which he became the object of observation by all the leading politicians of his time; and whether it was attack or defense, he was ready for any emergency. The location of this paper at the State Capital brought him into constant intercourse with the officers of the State government, and with leading lawyers, politicians, and men of business from all parts of the State, who had occasion to visit Albany and needed his courtesies to put them on a proper footing with the public functionaries.

"In those days," he tells us, "there was no 'editorial staff.' I not only edited the paper without assistance, but for several years reported the Assembly proceedings and personally collected all news articles and local items, read all proofs, and occasionally made up the forms. These duties gave me constant but pleasant occupation." He further says:

"In the summer of 1831 the great railway system of America was inaugurated by the completion and opening of two or three short roads—Charleston, New Orleans, and Albany, each claiming to have been the first in the field. The point of precedence, however, has been settled in favor of Albany, a portion of whose road was then opened, and the first steam car placed upon the 'Mohawk & Hudson' track being propelled by a locomotive from the summit of the hill at Albany to the summit of the hill which descends into Schenectady. The cars were extemporized by placing the body of the stage-coach then in use on a single four-wheeled platform car. Of my fellow-passengers in the cars of that first train I can only identify Lewis Benedict, John Townsend, Joseph Alexander, John Meigs (high constable), John I. Boyd, and Billy Winne (penny post), of Albany; and Governor Yates, John I. De Graff, and Hugh Robinson, of Schenectady. It was my fortune, therefore, to witness the advent of the two great material forces which have contributed so largely to the development and civilization of this continent. I witnessed in 1807, from an island in the Hudson River, as has been heretofore stated, the passage of the first vessel ever propelled by steam; and I was a passenger, in 1831, in the first car propelled by steam in the State of New York.

"I was a witness also, at a later period, of Professor Morse's first demonstration before Congress of the workings of his telegraphic invention. A communication was made for the wires through the wall which divided two committee rooms, in each of which members of Congress and invited guests were gathered. Professor Morse was himself the operator, with an assistant in the opposite room to receive the message. Members of Congress were requested to communicate with each other, thus preventing the possibility of collusion. The experiment was a complete success, occasioning equal astonishment and gratification; and from that beginning the whole civilized world has been spanned with wires and cables, through which Egypt, India, China and Japan are in daily and hourly communication with Europe and America."

Not the least of the author's public services were performed in the character of a diplomat. One of the most important chapters of the work relates to his 'experiences in Europe, when sent

by President Lincoln in 1861 on a semi-official mission of the first moment.

The book is crowded with reminiscences of the most varied and interesting character. We are told how the friendly loan of a dress coat once saved an office-holder his place; how, through his own social shortcomings, the author lost an opportunity to meet the Duke of Wellington; and of his (Mr. Weed's) failure in attempting "to speak in public on the stage."

To be appreciated, this autobiographical work must be read. No library can afford to miss it from its shelves.

LIFE OF JAMES BUCHANAN.—Fifteenth President of the United States. BY GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. With two Steel-plate portraits. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1300. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1883.

IN forming a just estimate of the value of this contribution to American history the mind should be disarmed of every prejudice of a political character. Mr. Buchanan's administration of the government during the four years which preceded the commencement of our Civil War, is, as Mr. Curtis observes, a topic upon which friends and foes have widely differed. It was not in the nature of the circumstances for an impartial account to have been written, or an impartial judgment formed, until the perils and turmoils of the bitter strife should have passed by. It is not impossible now, to take an impassionate view of the men and events of twenty-three years ago, and the readers of this memoir will learn many new historical facts of the highest importance. Mr. Curtis had access to material hitherto unpublished, and its revelations are of such consequence that the true history of the exciting period to which it refers cannot be written without it. Persons whose opinions have been formed while perusing the highly colored statements of partisan writers will be surprised to find in these volumes the letters of eminent men hitherto credited with dissent from the policy of an administration, which policy they, in fact, guided or approved.

Mr. Curtis says, pertinently, "Any man who has been in public life for a long period of time, and has attained to the highest public stations, must necessarily have accumulated a vast amount of materials of the highest importance to the elucidation of his own history, and of the history of the times in which he has acted. Mr. Buchanan had a habit of preserving nearly everything that came into his hands. The mass of his private correspondence is enormous. He had also another habit of great utility. He rarely held an important conversation, or was engaged in a critical transaction, without writing down an account of it with his own hand imme-

diately afterward. These extremely valuable memoranda will be found to throw great light upon many matters that have hitherto been left in obscurity, or entirely misrepresented."

The work opens with a fragment of an Autobiography, which is used by Mr. Curtis with such explanatory paragraphs as are needful to make a clear and connected narrative. It seems to have been the object of the biographer to enter into as much of description as was necessary to illustrate the documents used, aiming to instruct and entertain while doing justice to the subject of his work.

The events of the most absorbing interest in the Presidential administration of Mr. Buchanan occurred in 1860 and 1861, and to this period upwards of two hundred pages of the second volume are devoted. Mr. Curtis makes an elaborate defense of the course pursued in those trying times, which is certainly of unquestionable interest to the reading public. Mr. Curtis says: "Little are the objectors aware that the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration until after the attack on Fort Sumter was identical with that of Mr. Buchanan." And in another chapter he says: "When we look back upon the war that ensued, and when we measure the disparity of force that enabled the United States eventually to prevail over the exhausted Southern Confederacy, there are no people in the whole Union who have more cause than the Secessionists themselves to be grateful to President Buchanan for not having admitted the possibility of legitimate war upon the States that seceded; while for the people of the whole Union there remains a debt of gratitude to him for having laid down the principle that saved them from crushing the political autonomy of those States in a war that could have had no result but to reduce them to the condition of subjugated provinces." Of the seven years intervening between the end of his Presidency and his death, Mr. Curtis says: "How he bore himself through all this flood of detraction and abuse; how he never wavered amid disaster or victory in his firm determination to uphold with all his influence the just authority of the Federal Government; how he prayed for the restoration of the Union and the preservation of the Constitution; how he opened his purse to relieve the suffering, and cheer the hearts of the brave men fighting the battles of their country, his private correspondence abundantly proves."

LAND AND LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. By WILLIAM GODWIN MOODY. 1 Vol. 12mo., pp. 360. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1883.

The charm of this volume lies in its clear and calm survey of the condition of American labor, and in its discussion of the causes which have

tended to idleness, and to reduce wages and lower the political and social standing of the laborer. A complicated subject has been treated with exceptional power and candor. The author has, however, failed to take a comprehensive view of the myriads of causes and effects which have influenced, or, at least, colored, the arguments which he brings into public view. He sees only the cloud, never the sunshine. He predicts general distress and disaster in the United States through the increase of idleness, unless a series of national measures avert land monopolies, and accomplish "the redistribution of labor among all, that all may live." He also recommends "the breaking up and wiping out of every vestige of all systems of tenant farming." The facts brought forward are of the first importance, and, notwithstanding the conclusions of Mr. Moody will challenge criticism in innumerable directions, his work will aid materially in calling intelligent attention to some very important industrial problems, which concern the welfare of every true American.

HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA. By the COMTE DE PARIS. Volume III., pp. 923. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1883.

The year 1863, destined to have a decisive influence over the results of the civil war in America, forms the subject of this volume. Dowdall's Tavern, Chancellorsville, and Suffolk, are the headings of the three chapters in Book I.; The Bayous, Port Gibson, Champion's Hill, and Vicksburg, comprise Book II.; Legislation, Brandy Station, Oak Hill, and Gettysburg are the suggestive titles of the chapters in Book III.; and Hagerstown, Bristoe Station, and Mine Run complete Book IV. As will be seen this part of the Count's great work covers the most important and exciting period of the conflict. It includes the fifth and sixth volumes of the French edition. It has been truly said that our civil war "has had no abler historian than the French prince who, emulating the example of Lafayette, took part in this new struggle for freedom, and who now writes of events, in many of which he participated, as an accomplished officer, and one who, by his independent position, his high character and eminent talents, was placed in circumstances and relations which gave him almost unequalled opportunities to gain correct information and form impartial judgments."

Every page bears unmistakable evidence of the most careful and painstaking examination of voluminous data. The whole work is distinguished for clearness of statement, force of description, and soundness of criticism. The author writes: "The ardent passions which animated the combatants have, thank God! been calmed before the principal actors of the great drama have passed away, and its history has be-

come for them an inexhaustible subject of courteous controversy, of which the great public of the United States is to-day the arbitrator. The most useful documents for such a work are those which emanate from the actors themselves, and which are written at the first moment, when facts are too recent to allow any glossing or distortion of the truth."

THE DOMINION ANNUAL REGISTER AND REVIEW, for the Sixteenth Year of the Canadian Union, 1882. Edited by HENRY J. MORGAN, Keeper of the Records of Canada. Assisted by Robert Bell, LL.D., M.D., F.G.S., C.E., John Reade, Frederick A. Dixon, Thomas J. Richardson, and Graham Moon. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1883.

The contents of this publication, of some five hundred pages, indicate its value not only to the historical student, but to the general scholar. The first 170 pages are devoted to political and parliamentary history; following which is a "Journal of Remarkable Occurrences," in 1882—which cannot be estimated too highly—occupying not less than fifty pages. The "Progress of Education in the Dominion," and the "Review of Literature, Science, and Art," are ably presented in articles of some forty pages each, and will be thoroughly appreciated by all Americans who are interested in the development of the resources of the continent. The work also contains miscellaneous statistics and other noteworthy information, together with an excellent index.

THE IROQUOIS BOOK OF RITES. Edited by HORATIO HALE, M.A. Library of Aboriginal American Literature, II. pp. 222. D. G. Brinton, Philadelphia, 1883.

The chief value of this work is ethnological. As a record we are told that it carries back the authentic history of Northern America to a date anterior by fifty years to the arrival of Columbus. It contains much new material of permanent interest and value to the historical scholar and the scientist. The introduction is divided into ten chapters, commencing with the "Huron Iroquois Nations." The seventh chapter, entitled "Historical Traditions," and those following, which treat of the Iroquois character, policy, and language, are of special interest and importance. A map, notes and a glossary complete the valuable work.

ANNOUNCEMENT—The October number of the Magazine will contain a "HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PIERRE AND JEAN LAFITTE," the famous smugglers of Louisiana, 1809, to 1814, by the eminent Louisiana historian, Charles Gayarre.